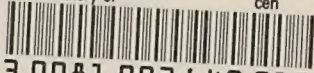


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1876-1926

**A HISTORY OF
FRENCH DRAMATIC LITERATURE
IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY**

PART I :

THE PRE-CLASSICAL PERIOD

1610-1634

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BY

HENRY CARRINGTON LANCASTER

Professor of French Literature in the Johns Hopkins University

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME I

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TO HELEN CLARK LANCASTER



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INTRODUCTION

Dramatic literature of the seventeenth century has not yet been sufficiently studied either in detail or as a whole. The very fact that it includes many masterpieces and has played a large part in the development of French culture, a part analogous to the rôle of Shakespeare and Milton in ours, seems to have convinced certain scholars that their investigations would bring richer returns if applied to fields they considered less well known. Others have realized that Corneille, Racine, and Molière cannot be understood or estimated apart from their less distinguished contemporaries and predecessors and that many problems remain unsolved, if we delve no deeper than the principal works of the masters. They have accordingly devoted themselves with zeal and acumen to a number of authors and problems, but many remain to be studied and no work has been published hitherto that gives even a relatively complete account of the subject. It is with this thought in mind that I am undertaking to write a series of volumes on the seventeenth century stage in France. My plan is not merely to make a synthesis of the valuable work that has already been done, but to explore the field as far as I am able to go, or, in other words, to base my conclusions on all the plays that are extant. How far I shall be able to carry out this scheme remains for the future to tell. At present I am concerned with the first portion of my task, the dramatic production of the reign of Louis XIII as far as the date of performance of the first thoroughly classical tragedy.

Over 250 plays have survived from this period, a third of them from the last five years of it. While their value is unequal, very few are entirely lacking in interest. They include most of the pastorals written in France, a large number of tragedies and tragicomedies, over thirty comedies and farces. They mark the transition from sixteenth century drama to that of the seventeenth century, the composition of the first classical comedies and tragedies and of Corneille's early plays. The period is important for the

development of professional actors as individuals and as organized into troupes. A knowledge of the peculiar system of stage-decoration then in vogue is needed if one wishes to understand how ancient and medieval traditions were fused and passed on to more modern decorators. There are many problems of authorship, chronology, technique, and influence that cannot be solved without a careful study of this period. Among these I may mention the question as to whether or not Hardy is to be considered the first author of plays that were really dramatic and to what extent he differed from his contemporaries and predecessors, the question of the reasons for introducing the three unities and the manner in which they came to be adopted, the question of foreign influence, particularly that of ancient plays and of the Spanish *comedia*, and the question of the date and originality of Corneille's early work. None of these can be satisfactorily answered unless one is familiar with most of the plays written in the first third of the seventeenth century. Finally, it is hoped that a thorough investigation of a cross-section of literary history may throw some light upon literary developments in other fields. But before discussing such problems as these, I must outline briefly the work that has been already done, leaving bibliographical details to the chapters that are to follow.

In the seventeenth century, however great may have been the interest taken in the drama, nobody sought to write its history. We have from that period the texts of the plays, usually accompanied by dates of *privilège* and *achevé d'imprimer*, by a dedication, and not infrequently by an *Au lecteur* and complimentary verses from the author's friends. These often contain information about the dramatist's life and his literary aims. We can also make use of letters, legal documents, satirical broadsides, and memoirs. The record of Hardy's quarrel with Du Ryer and Auvray and that of Corneille's controversy with Mairet, Scudéry, and Claveret tell us a good deal about these authors. The letters of Chapelain, Guez de Balzac, and Racan furnish certain details. More important are the *Historiettes* of Tallemant des Réaux, the journals of L'Estoile and Héroard, the *Gazette* of Renaudot. Other contemporaries who mention the theater are La Pinelière in his *Parnasse*, the abbé Arnould, Bassompierre, Marolles, and Charles Sorel. Guillaume Colletet remains important, although most of his *lives* have been lost. Later in the century came Pellisson's *Histoire de l'Académie française*, d'Aubignac's *Pratique du Théâtre*, and Chappuzeau's *Théâtre françois*, useful, respectively, for biography, criticism, and information about troupes, although all three works are mainly concerned with a later

period than that under discussion. Other authors, consulted for minor points, will be mentioned below. One document, however, deserves special reference, the *Mémoire de Mahelot*, from which we derive, not only priceless information about the staging of 71 plays that are to be discussed, but also the knowledge of a number which, without it, would be completely unknown and chronological information about several others.

It was in the eighteenth century that the first histories of the seventeenth century drama were written. These took the form of lists of plays, accompanied in some cases by analyses and biographical information. Some of them scarcely concern us since for the period studied they give little more than transcriptions of others. Those of Mouhy are worse than useless. Four are important, Maupoint, Beauchamps, the frères Parfaict, and the *Bibliothèque du théâtre françois*. The first of these, though full of inaccuracies, stands out on account of its date, 1733. Two years later appeared the second author's *Recherches*, which names most of the plays that had appeared in the seventeenth century, usually with the dates of *privilege* and *achevé d'imprimer*. Unfortunately these dates are often inaccurate, owing apparently to careless printing. The best known of the histories is that of the frères Parfaict, who are the first to attempt something more than a catalogue of titles and dates. Most of the plays they mention are accompanied by analyses and quotations and information is added about authors, actors, and theaters. They did not possess, however, a very highly developed historical or critical sense and the mistakes they made in dating the work of Hardy, Mairet, and others have had far-reaching consequences. They rarely give the date of publication of a play, placing instead in the margin the year in which they suppose it to have been completed or first acted. Later on this date may be derived from contemporary journals and consequently be reliable, but for the first third of the century they have so little information that they usually arrive at their date by subtracting a year from that of publication, a mental operation they would have more wisely left to their readers, who are often confused as to what date is really intended. Certainly no one can write the history of the French stage without consulting the frères Parfaict, but it is quite as certain that no one can write it accurately if he retains the dogma of their infallibility. Finally we come to the anonymous *Bibliothèque du théâtre françois*, which lists the plays, gives the year when they printed, and analyzes most of those written by men who began their careers no later than 1636. As in the case of the frères Parfaict, the analyses are often

incomplete and inaccurate, but, on the whole, they are more valuable than theirs. The compilers also quote at greater length from the plays, though they give less information about the authors. Apart from these four works, the chief contribution of the eighteenth century was made by the excellent *Bibliothèque* of the abbé Goujet, who made use of Colletet and supplied a great deal of biographical information that concerns us. Fontenelle's life of his uncle, Pierre Corneille, and the works of Nicéron, Moréri, and Sauval may also be mentioned.

The first important work of the nineteenth century for us is the catalogue made by Paul Lacroix of the extraordinarily rich collection of plays belonging to de Soleinne. The bibliographical information is much greater and more reliable than that furnished in the books just discussed, but the conjectures that Lacroix adds in fine print are largely negligible. Another of his many works that is useful is his *Recueil de ballets et mascarades*. Brunet's *Manuel* is, of course, a treasure-house of general bibliographical information. Jal's biographical *Dictionnaire* contains transcripts of numerous records of baptisms, marriages, and burials, as well as of other documents. Eudore Soulié published important leases and other legal papers. To these should be added the reprints of memoirs, etc., by Michaud and Poujoulat, Monmerqué and Paulin Paris, Fournier, and others, as well as the republication of the plays of Corneille, Rotrou, Théophile, Racan, and of those authors whose pieces are found in the *Ancien théâtre françois* and in Fournier's *Théâtre français au XVI^e et au XVII^e siècle*. While, however, such texts have been very useful, the conjectures that accompany them have often been proved incorrect. Among these editions that of Corneille by Marty-Laveaux is especially valuable. Contributions to Corneille's biography were made by Bouquet, to his bibliography by Picot, whose work was supplemented by Le Verdier and Pelay.

We come now to the period of contemporary scholarship. Here Rigal is of great importance, especially in his *Alexandre Hardy* and his *Théâtre français avant la période classique*. He aroused new interest in the period under discussion, discovered the fundamental principle of stage decoration in the first part of the century, and did much to clarify our knowledge of Hardy's plays and of the troupes and theaters of Paris. Unfortunately he greatly overestimated Hardy's rôle and, in so doing, occasioned a misunderstanding of Hardy's predecessors, contemporaries, and successors. His theory that plays other than Hardy's could not be acted at the end of the sixteenth and early in the seventeenth century was combated

by Professors Haraszti and Searles and finally demolished by M. Lanson. In the long article in which he performed this service the latter made use of the work of many men who had treated the history of the theaters in various localities, among whom may be mentioned Trautmann, Clouzot, Faber, Mugnier, and L. Paris. M. Lanson has also contributed a great deal by his well known *Manuel*, his article on the idea of tragedy before Jodelle, and especially by his *Esquisse d'une histoire de la tragédie française*, which gives an admirable outline of the main principles and achievements of authors in the period studied. As, however, the work is in the form of a syllabus, it is hard for a person to use it unless he already knows a good deal about the subject and while it is closely packed with thought, it is far too brief to take the place of a history of the drama.

While tragedy was especially emphasized by M. Lanson, the pastoral play was exhaustively studied by M. Marsan in his excellent *Pastorale dramatique*, one of the books that I shall most frequently have occasion to cite. Petit de Julleville had already examined the farce, chiefly that of an earlier period. Comedy has been treated by Lintilhac and by Toldo, tragi-comedy by myself. The bibliographical works of M. Lachèvre contain a great deal of information about many of the men I discuss. M. Toinet's work on the epic and his unfinished list of seventeenth century authors are also serviceable. Gasté's publication of most of the documents connected with the *Cid* quarrel has been found helpful for various authors. Studies devoted to the unities have been made by various persons, especially, for their history in France, by Dannheisser and recently by M. Bray, though the story has been by no means completely told. Allied genres have been discussed, the ballet and the opera by M. H. Prunières, the novel by M. G. Reynier, the works of Charles Sorel by M. E. Roy, who has also written a number of important articles, in one of which he made known his discovery of the dispute between Hardy, Du Ryer, and Auvray. D'Urfé has been treated by the abbé Reure and M. Magendie. Italian influence has been studied especially by Toldo, Spanish by M. Martinenche, but both must be consulted with caution, for I have found in the former some strange errors about Ariosto and certain French writers, while the latter is inclined to take for cases of influence resemblances that are due merely to the fact that Spanish and French literature go back to common sources.

For individual authors I have used chiefly the following works by modern scholars : for Hardy, in addition to Rigal, Stengel's reprint of all but one of his plays ; for Schelandre, Haraszti's critical

edition of *Tyr et Sidon* and M. Cohen's *Ecrivains français en Hollande* ; for Racan, M. Arnould's large volume devoted to him ; for Théophile, Dr. Schirmacher's dissertation and M. Lachèvre's *Procès de Théophile* ; for Mairet, studies by Bizos, Dannheisser, Andrae, and Ricci, and the editions of individual plays published by Vollmöller, Otto, M. Marsan, and myself ; for Rotrou, the biographical work of Chardon, the article on his dates by Stiefel, articles on his sources by Stiefel and Steffens, and Crane's edition of two of his plays ; for Du Ryer and Rayssiguier, my studies of those two dramatists ; for Scudéry, the dissertation of Batereau ; for Boisrobert, that of Tenner and a biography by M. Magne ; for Corneille the work of Meier, Lanson, and Dorchain, and, for minor points, articles by Küchler, Van Roosbroeck, and myself. For the study of stage decoration I have found M. Cohen's book on the subject, limited to the middle ages, and Dr. J. T. Allen's *Stage Antiquities of the Greeks and Romans* useful for background. Celler's book, that of Bapst, in addition to works of Lacroix, Rigal, and Lanson mentioned above, and my edition of Mahelot have been used. For the history of actors, Lemazurier is quite unreliable and Lyonnet is not careful to distinguish for the period I am studying between what is of value in his sources and what is not. I have consequently drawn my information, as far as possible, from contemporary documents published by Jal, Rigal, Campardon, Magne, Lacour, and the recent and important publications of M. Fransen.

The bulk of this work is based, however, directly upon the study of the texts of the plays. As less than a third of the 255 investigated have been republished since the beginning of the last century and as it was necessary to examine many others in connection with these, it would have been impossible for me to achieve results without the courteous cooperation of libraries in this country and abroad. The plays are found chiefly in the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Arsenal, of which the value has been increased by the addition in recent years of the Rondel and Douais collections. I have also made use of the Mazarine, the Sainte-Geneviève, and the Sorbonne libraries in Paris and of municipal libraries at Toulouse, Aix-en-Provence, Besançon, and Nîmes. In this country the most useful collections have been those of the Johns Hopkins and Harvard. I have also consulted volumes belonging to the Library of Congress, the Peabody Library, the Columbia, Morgan, and New York Public Libraries, and those of Princeton and the University of Chicago. To the officials of all of them I am deeply grateful. I would also express my thanks to the following

friends, many of them my colleagues or students, for suggestions, the loan or gift of books, or for looking up matters for me: MM. Ascoli, Courtaud, de la Roncière, Potez, Toinet, Sr. Germán Arteta, Professors G. Atkinson, C. Beall, H. Bell, D. S. Blondheim, L. J. Bondy, E. C. Byam, G. Chinard, E. J. Crooks, L. E. Durel, Grace and Tenney Frank, G. Gruenbaum, Wm. Kurrelmeyer, C. W. E. Miller, M. M. Miller, A. Morehouse, W. P. Mustard, E. J. Pellet, M. I. Protzman, L. M. Richardson, J. Robles, D. M. Robinson, L. P. Shanks, C. I. Silin, E.H. Sirich, H. B. Wilcox, R. C. Williams and B. E. Young.

* * *

As I have confined myself to the study of French plays that were written after the death of Henri IV and no later than Mairêt's *Sophonisbe*, I exclude works that seem to have been acted for the first time before May, 1610, and after the fall of 1634, also plays in dialect and in Provençal, ballets, masques, and novels in dialogue. The point of departure may seem, like most dates, somewhat artificial, but it has the advantage of being considered important by French historians, it is quite possible that none of Hardy's extant plays were written before that time, and, while a later date would not have given me enough background for the work of Théophile, Racan, and Mairêt, an earlier one would have involved me in the study of too many minor productions before I reached important authors. It seemed sufficient to treat the period of Henri IV in a general manner, as introductory to the dramatic production of his son's reign. I was obliged to devote a separate chapter to Hardy on account of the uncertainty of the chronology of his plays. In Chapters III-X the works are classified both according to their genres and the time of first performance. I accept, in the main, the genres to which the plays are assigned by their authors, though occasionally, especially when the pastoral, farcical, or political and personal elements are very conspicuous, I have not done so. It is usually difficult to determine just when a play was first acted, but experience has taught me that it is usually safe to assume that a year or two elapsed between this event and the date when it left the press. As, before 1630, the genres vary greatly in popularity, I have made my chief divisions for Chaps. III-VI by the dates of performance, giving to the first of these chapters the plays that undoubtedly preceded the extant productions of Racan and Théo-

phile, to the second their two plays and those that appeared about the same time. Chapter V is devoted to the first two plays of Mairét and to other works that appeared in 1625-1627. Chapter VI concerns the début of a large number of young writers. The four chapters that follow take up plays that came out from 1630 to 1634, the first treating the pastoral and the history of the introduction of the unities, which were at first especially associated with that genre; the second, the tragi-comedy, the most popular of them all; the third, comedy, which includes the greater portion of the study of Corneille; and finally, tragedy, culminating in the first play that meets in almost all respects subsequent requirements for classical plays of that genre. A chapter is added on theaters, stage decoration, and actors, after which are found a brief summary of the principal conclusions, a list of the plays studied, and an index.

At the beginning of each chapter I endeavor to indicate the general characteristics of the plays treated in it. An author's biography is usually given when the first of his plays is discussed. I have tried, in taking up each play, to give the information I could find about its dates, bibliography, authorship, sources, and salient characteristics. An analysis of the plot is regularly furnished, usually in a note, for a long analysis is apt to fatigue or confuse the reader if it interrupts his perusal of the text. In order to make clear the divisions between the discussions of the various plays, the titles are printed in capitals when they first occur in the section especially devoted to them. A good deal of quotation has been made necessary by the fact that many of the plays will be inaccessible to the reader. The original spelling and accentuation has been preserved in such passages. A list of the special abbreviations employed follows.

ABBREVIATIONS

Achévé : *achevé d'imprimer.*

A. S. N. S. : *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen.*

Beauchamps : *Recherches sur les théâtres de France*, Paris, Prault, 1735. 3 vol.

Bib. du th. fr. : *Bibliothèque du théâtre françois*, Dresden, Groell, 1768. 3 vol.

Bib. Nat. : Bibliothèque Nationale.

Bib. Rec. : Lachèvre, *Bibliothèque des recueils collectifs de poésies publiées de 1597 à 1700*, Paris, Leclerc, 1901-1905. 4 vol.

Brunet : *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres*, Paris, Didot, 1860-1865. 6 vol. Sup., 1878-1880. 2 vol.

Ed. : *édition*

Frères Parfaict : *Histoire du théâtre françois*, Paris, Morin et Flahault, 1734 (I), Le Mercier et Flahault, 1735 (II), Le Mercier et Saillant, 1745-1749 (III-XV)

Goujet : *Bibliothèque française*, Paris, Mariette et Guérin, 1741-1756. 18 vol.

Maupoint : *Bibliothèque des théâtres*, Paris, Prault, 1733.

M. L. N. : *Modern Language Notes.*

M. L. R. : *Modern Language Review.*

M. P. : *Modern Philology.*

P. de J. : Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française des origines à 1900*, Paris, Colin, 1896-1899. 8 vol.

P. G. : J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, Paris, 1857-1866. 161 vol.

P. M. L. A. : *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.*

Pont-de-Vesle : *Bibliothèque dramatique augmentée et complétée par les soins du Bibliophile Jacob*, Paris, Alliance des Arts, 1846.

Priv. : *privilege.*

Pub. : *published.*

R. F. : *Romanische Forschungen.*

R. H. L. : *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France.*

Rec. Lib. : Lachèvre, *Les recueils collectifs de poésies libres et satiriques*, Paris, Champion, 1914. Sup., 1922.

Rec. Seiz. : Lachèvre, *Bibliothèque des recueils collectifs de poésies du XVI^e siècle*, Paris, Champion, 1922.

Soleinne : P. L. Jacob, bibliophile (Paul Lacroix), *Bibliothèque dramatique de Monsieur de Soleinne*, Paris, Alliance des arts, 1843, 1844. 5 vol.

Z. F. S. L. : *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Litteratur.*

Z. R. Ph. : *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*

CHAPTER I

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF DRAMATIC LITERATURE IN THE REIGN OF HENRI IV (1589-1610)

Civil war doubtless retarded the growth of the French stage, which is later than that, not only of Italy and Spain, but of England in attracting authors of genius. It did not prevent the production and composition of plays, but it made difficult the regular performance of them by experienced actors and a corresponding development of dramatic art. Peace came in large measure with Henri's entry into his capital on March 22, 1594, but it did not extend to all parts of the kingdom till four years later. Poverty was general, communications were difficult. An actor's life must have been one that conferred little distinction or remuneration either upon himself or upon the author whose play he interpreted. Rigal¹ has pointed out how actors suffered from the opposition of the Church, the exactions of municipalities, the importunities of spectators, the rivalry of different troupes, both native and foreign. The difficulties they encountered were, indeed, so great that they were not satisfactorily overcome till long after the reign was over, but there was, nevertheless, a certain amount of dramatic activity that must be studied if we are to understand the significance of what was to follow.

As in the Middle Ages, groups of amateurs occasionally gave performances that continued the ancient tradition of that period. A Passion play was performed at Rouen every year from 1597 to 1608². The "confrères pèlerins" of Limoges gave a tragedy called *Saint Jacques* on July 25, 1596³. At Le Puy were per-

(1) Cf. the first chapter of his *Théâtre français avant la période classique*, Paris, Hachette, 1901.

(2) For this reference and for others cf. Lanson, "Étude sur les origines de la tragédie classique en France", *R. H. L.*, X (1903)

(3) Cf. *Bib. du th. fr.*, I, 309.

formed dramatizations of Biblical stories in 1593 and in 1600. The cast of the first numbered eighty ; of the second, thirty persons.

Much more important were the performances given by school children. Between 1592 and 1610 there are records of their playing at Valenciennes, Bayonne, Lille, Béthune, Châlon-sur-Saône, Aix, Pont-à-Mousson, Cambrai, Douai, Remiremont, Lyons, Mons, Rheims, Montbéliard, Brussels, Saint-Maixent, Liège, and several Dutch cities ¹. So seriously were these performances taken that at the Collège des Capets (Montaigu) in Paris a tragedy called *Chilpéric, roi de France, second du nom* was not allowed to be played, although it had been advertized. Moreover, the author, Louis Léger, who taught at the school, and the head-master were summoned to the Conciergerie to be questioned concerning it ². Many plays were given at schools conducted by the Jesuits, whose fondness for writing in Latin by no means excluded French productions.

A taste for acting was also exhibited by older persons. Nuns called the Dames de Saint-Antoine acted Garnier's *Cléopâtre* in 1594-1595 ³ and a less pious troupe performed in 1608, at the home of the Marquis of Cœuvres, a "comédie qui étoit toute de femmes blondes, parentes ou alliées du dit marquis" ⁴. The custom spread to the court, where the boy who was to be Louis XIII enjoyed, according to Héroard's Journal ⁵, a number of private theatrical entertainments. It also spread to the army, even as far as Egypt, for de Beaulieu-Persac refers to a performance that followed a feast he offered in 1610, on his vessel anchored in the Nile, to an Egyptian "Sultan". After regaling his guest with donkey pie, which the monarch enjoyed, though the Frenchmen limited themselves to the crust, he honored him with only three salvos from his guns, while firing fifty in honor of the King of France. As this was too much for the Sultan's dignity, he left the table, whereupon they went to "la comédie, laquelle nos soldatz faisoient ce soir là... La comédie finie, chacun se retira en son vaisseau" ⁶.

Most important of all were the professional actors, who played at

(1) Cf. Lanson, *op. cit.*

(2) Beauchamps, I, 490, 491, cites at length from the police records in regard to this affair, which does not seem to have brought Léger into ill repute, for a play that he wrote was given at the same institution three years later, when it was witnessed by d'Aigaliers ; cf. Joseph Dedieu's edition of his *Art poétique*, Toulouse, 1909, p. 159.

(3) Cf. Lanson, *op. cit.*

(4) Cf. *Mémoires de Bassompierre*, p. 51, ed. of Michaud and Poujoulat

(5) Ed. of Soulié and Barthélemy, Paris, Didot, 1868.

(6) My attention was called to this passage by M. de la Roncière ; cf. his *Mémoires de Philippe Prévost de Beaulieu-Persac*, Paris, Renouard, 1913, pp. 105, 106.

houses of the great and in permanent or temporary theaters in various towns. The famous Parisian theater, the Hôtel de Bourgogne, where medieval plays had been given for many years by the owners, the Confrérie de la Passion, had also sheltered, in 1578, the professional troupe of Agnan Sarat ¹, but it seems to have been closed while Paris was under the control of the League and, even after the city passed into the hands of the king, the plays given by the Confrères were probably like those of the Middle Ages, even if they were not religious. The Hôtel was rented to an English troupe, whose leader was called Jehan Sehaïs, in 1598, and to Italian players in 1599, 1603, and 1608 ². It was rented to the troupe headed by Valleran Leconte in 1599, 1606, 1607, 1608, 1609, and 1610 ³. The troupe of Robert Guérin, which may be the same as that of Leconte, rented it in 1600, that of Thomas Poirier, called La Vallée, in 1604, the players known as Les Loyaux Bravelestes in July, 1609, and the troupe of Lefebvre, called Laporte, and Robert Guérin, who were not then associated with Leconte, for the month of August of the latter year. Indeed, it was probably rented most of the time after 1598, but the fact that, before that date, it was closed or devoted to the performance of medieval plays makes Paris less important than the provinces in the history of the stage at the end of the sixteenth century.

As we shall presently see, the troupe with which Leconte was associated, usually known as the Comédiens du Roi, was at Bordeaux in 1592. These players were at Rouen, Strasburg, Langres, and Metz the following year, while the troupe of Charles Chautron played at Frankfort in 1595 ⁴. French players were in Belgium in 1599 ⁵, at Bâle in 1604 ⁶, in Holland in 1605 and 1608 ⁷, and at Lille in 1609 ⁸. Clouzot has recorded the visit of several troupes to Poitou ⁹. Plays were given at Arras in 1602, at Beauvais in 1604, at Bourges in 1607 ¹⁰, and at Bordeaux in 1609 ¹¹.

(1) Cf. E. Soulié, *Recherches sur Molière*, Paris, Hachette, 1863, p. 152.

(2) Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 153, 154, Rigal, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-53, and Fransen, *R. H. L.*, XXXIV (1927), 352.

(3) For these and the following references cf. Soulié, *loc. cit.* and Fransen, *loc. cit.* The latter discovered a number of leases unknown to Soulié and Rigal.

(4) Cf. K. Trautmann, *Französische Schauspieler am bayrischen Hofe*, cited by Rigal, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

(5) Cf. F. Faber, *Histoire du théâtre français en Belgique*, Brussels, Olivier, 1878, I, 15.

(6) Cf. Trautmann, *op. cit.*, and Rigal, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

(7) Cf. Fransen, *Comédiens français en Hollande*, Paris, Champion, pp. 43, 44.

(8) Cf. H. Liebrecht, *Histoire du théâtre français à Bruxelles*, Paris, Champion, 1923, p. 46.

(9) Cf. *L'Ancien théâtre en Poitou*, Niort, L. Clouzot, 1901, pp. 62-64.

(10) Cf. Lanson, *op. cit.*

(11) Cf. J. Marsan, *la Pastorale dramatique*, Paris, Hachette, 1905, p. 296.

Even as early as 1592 the Comédiens du Roi had made at the latter city the impression of being experienced actors. The following account, mentioned only briefly by MM. Lanson and Léopold Lacour¹, was called to my attention by M. Courtaud. It merits republication here as it throws a good deal of light on the success of this troupe at an early date :

En cette année, Valeran, un insigne comediant françois, vint à Bordeaux, e y representa beaucoup de tragedies et farces, avec ung très grand applaudissement des spectateurs. Est à noter qu'il n'estoit point marié ni ne portoit le nom de chef de la bande, bien qu'il en fut l'ame e le meneur, ains un aultre, qui estoit meublé d'une très belle creature de femme, laquelle, contre toutes les regles ordinaires de ce mestier, estoit de meurs e conversation honestes, e, celuy qui l'eut ignoré, n'eut point creu qu'elle eut fait ce mestier. Plusieurs jeunes hommes de la ville de Bordeaux devinrent amoureux autant de sa douce et honneste conversation que de sa beauté, et ils la rechercherent pour en jouir, tant par paroles qu'en ambassades et presents ; mais elle ne voulut jamais consentir ni assentir. Elle ne faisoit point aucun personnage de la farce, ains seulement dans les tragedies ou tragi-comedies, celui qui convient au sexe feminin. C'est pourquoi on faisoit courrir le bruit à Bourdeaux qu'elle estoit fille de maison de la ville de Paris, à scavoir d'un advocat, e qu'elle avoit esté decriée par celuy qui l'avoit espousée, lequel estant d'humeur desbauchée, avoit voulu exercer cette vacation pour courre le païs e voir le monde, sans qu'il luy coustat rien, disoit-il bien qu'il fut de naissance fort conditionnée e issu d'honestes paysans, en Bourgogne, e qu'elle se trouva engagée, sans y penser e contre ses intentions, à faire mesme mestier que son mary. Elle representoit merveilleusement bien sa partie, e dans les personnages de quelque royne ou princesse, il ne lui manquoit que la naissance ; car à sa mine, à son geste et à sa parole, vous l'eussiez prise pour telle. Sa grace principalement estoit excellente, lorsque son personnage estoit une recherchée e languissante, quand il falloit qu'elle recherchat. Mais, par ce aussi que Valeran estoit si merveilleux à représenter son personnage, notamment quand c'estoit d'un amoureux, que vous eussiez dict qu'il parloit sans desguisement, e non point en comédien, jettant quelquefois des soupirs et des œillades qui monstroyent de n'avoir aucune feintise. Le discours ordinaire de ceux qui frequentoient les comediens estoit que cela procedoit de l'amour veritable qu'il avoit pour cette femme, comme aussi estoit-il vray, ainsin qu'il le confessa à plusieurs, et entre autres à moi. Mais aussi fut-il vray que jamais, hors le theatre, elle ne donna le moindre signe d'amour, la moindre pensée qu'elle eut de l'affection pour ledit Valeran, bien qu'elle l'estimat, quand au reste, pour ce qui estoit de sa vacation. Cette femme, dans les visites que les jeunes hommes faisoient à son logis, prenoit grand plaisir d'estre entretenue de discours honnestes e serieux, capables dans la science de l'histoire, e elle reprenoit librement et franchement ceux qui lui parloyent trop licencieusement des paroles de mardy gras, leur disant que, hors le theatre, elle n'estoit point commediante. Elle donna une si bonne opinion d'elle, qu'elle fut tousjours la bien venue dans les plus honestes maisons de Bourdeaux, parmi le sexe feminin. La nouvelle fut portée à Bourdeaux après son depart, e,

(1) *Les Premières Actrices françaises*, Paris, Librairie française, 1921, pp. 10-12.

le deceds de son mary estant advenu en Dauphiné, d'aautres disoyent en Avignon, qu'elle s'estoit retirée à Paris après de ses parents, e y vivoit fort honestement e honorablement ¹.

This is not the picture of an inexperienced troupe, but of one that had already made a place for itself in the life of Bordeaux. The best families of the town are shown to have been interested in the actress who is here described and the author of the narrative was on fairly intimate terms with Valleran. The young men of the city were already well acquainted with actresses and had a low opinion of their morality, although they found an exception to the rule in this troupe. Tragedies and tragi-comedies in which there were rôles of lovers and princesses, farces played by men only seem to have composed the repertory. No mystery or morality plays are mentioned. The actors have evidently turned their backs on the Middle Ages, although Alexandre Hardy, whom some would make the father of the modern French drama and the cause of the leading position this troupe held, had not yet begun to write.

Not long afterwards were performed Bounin's *Sultane* ², Garnier's *Juives*, and the *Ravissement d'Hélène* ³. The latter is unknown, unless it be the *Pryam* of Berthrand, the first half of which is concerned with Helen's elopement and the last half with its tragic effects ⁴. In 1602 a troupe played "pièces profanes et farces honnestes" at Arras and, the following year, Montchrestien's *Ecos-saise* was performed at Orléans ⁵. In 1608 the château of Nérac was used for the performance of a comedy and, about this time, reference is made to Agnan's having played "histoires du temps jadis" about Priam and Amadis ⁶.

As M. Lanson has amply demonstrated, there is no sense in asking whether the theater of the Renaissance was "jouable", for the fact is that many of the plays then written were actually played. If the *Sultane* and the *Ecos-saise* and *Sophonisbe* of Montchrestien could be performed, there is no reason to doubt that most of the plays that have come down to us were acted by professionals. The critics of the period, Vauquelin and d'Aigalières, regard tragedies, tragi-comedies, pastorals, and farces as dramatic compositions,

(1) Jean de Gaufreteau, *Chronique Bordeloise*, edited by G. Gounouilhou, Bordeaux, 1876, I, 306-308.

(2) By Chautron's troupe, mentioned above.

(3) Cf. Guez de Balzac, *Entretiens*, VI, 5, and Lanson, *op. cit.*

(4) Rouen, Raphaël du Petit-Val, 1606.

(5) Cf. Lanson, *op. cit.*

(6) *Muses gaillardes*, Paris, 1609, cited, by Rigal *op. cit.*, p. 40.

written to be played. Regnier was sufficiently familiar with the acted tragedy to say of an old woman that she

Sembloit faire l'entrée en quelque tragédie (XI, 38).

Ever since M. Lanson published the article to which I have been referring, there has been no reason to consider the plays of the Renaissance as book-dramas, written merely to be read or recited in a parlor. And, as he points out, even if some of them were acted only by amateurs, that does not mean what it would to-day, for the children who were then trained to play in schools performed the function of modern actors in such "little" theaters as those of Antoine and Copeau. What plays, then, composed the repertories of the years 1589-1610? They may be divided into (1) medieval survivals, including farces; (2) tragedies; (3) tragi-comedies; (4) pastorals; (5) other genres. They will now be treated under these heads.

I. — Medieval Survivals

The medieval theater was not ruined by the decree of 1548 forbidding the acting of religious plays, but the prestige of the newer type of play, the smaller number of actors required, the simpler accessories, the fact that it corresponded more nearly to the literary tendencies displayed in other genres turned audiences toward it and away from mysteries, miracles, and moralities, secularized or not. The Confrérie de la Passion continued to give plays that resembled those of the Middle Ages almost to the end of the sixteenth century at the Hôtel de Bourgogne. Other *confréries* gave performances of the same sort, but they became curios, devoid of life and incapable of development. A few plays that resemble moralities were published early in the seventeenth century, such as *Alcide, jeu comique et moral en trois pauses* by A. Mage Sieur de Fiefmelin¹ and *l'Enfer poétique sur les sept péchez mortels et sur les sept vertus contraires*². Another shows the influence of the newer literature by its subtitle and the fact that the plot is derived from Lucian: *La Goutte, tragédie nouvelle*³, but the fact that its principal character is the allegorical representation of a disease classifies it with moralities.

(1) Poitiers, de Marnef, 1601; cf. *Soleinne*, n°s 886, 887.

(2) Lyons, P. Rigaud, 1612, but the play had already been published in 1586; cf. *Bib. du th. fr.*, I, 277.

(3) Rouen, Le Villain, 1605, by J. D. L. Sieur de Blambeausaut, the celebrated Laffemas.

The only medieval form that remained vigorous was the farce. We have seen that it was given by troupes that played the newer kinds. A farce was probably performed regularly after each tragedy, tragi-comedy, or pastoral¹. A number of farces have been preserved, but it is often difficult to say when they were written. They were, of course, brief and crude productions, written in 8-syllable verse, with characters that are knaves or fools, language that is constantly amusing and often indecent, a theme that is extremely simple and not infrequently ends with resounding blows exchanged by the performers. An interesting account of one that was witnessed by Henri IV is given by L'Estoile² and is probably typical. It was acted at the Hôtel de Bourgogne on January 26, 1607. A wife quarrels with her husband because he spends on drink money that will be demanded by the tax-collector. The husband replies that if the king is to get it, he will drink six sous' worth instead of three. The wife curses him for ruining his family. Just then the collectors enter and demand money. They are refused payment and their authority is questioned. They order the woman to get off a chest on which she is sitting and finally force her to obey:

On ouvre ce coffre, duquel sortent à l'instant trois diables, qui emportent et troussent en malle M. le conseiller, le commissaire et le sergent, chaque diable s'étant chargé du sien.

II. — Tragedy

Plays belonging to this genre, more than fifty in number, constitute by far the largest group. The majority of them keep the dramatic system that had been used by writers of tragedy in the preceding thirty-five years, but others show departures from it in various respects. M. Lanson has traced the development of the idea of tragedy before Jodelle and stated the definition assigned to it by that dramatist and his followers³. It is essentially a play that shows us an eminent person lamenting over a terrible misfortune that has befallen or will befall him through fate or human cruelty. The subject is usually drawn from the history or literary tradition

(1) Bodin, as Lanson observes in his *Esquisse d'une histoire de la tragédie française*, Paris, Champion, 1927, p. 32, refers in 1580 to the custom of playing a farce after a tragedy. The reference is found in the *Six livres de la république*, Geneva, Gamonet, 1629, p. 848: "Maintenant on met tousiours à la fin des tragedies (comme vne poison és viandes) la farce, ou comedie".

(2) *Registre-Journal*, edition of Michaud and Poujoulat, XV, 412.

(3) *Op. cit.*, and *R. H. L.*, XI (1904), 541-585.

of the Romans, Greeks, or Hebrews, but is seldom the adaptation of an ancient play. The victim or one who suffers on his account is the principal person. The psychology of the characters and the causes that bring about the tragic event are neglected. The play opens not only *in medias res*, but as near the end as possible, so that the action can easily take place within twenty-four hours and the space represented, though usually vague, is not large. The outcome is unhappy. Comic and trivial scenes are ordinarily excluded and the proprieties are observed. A chorus separates the five acts from one another and serves to point the moral. Ghosts, prophets, messengers, nurses, and other confidants are frequent. For physical and psychological action are substituted rhetorical developments on religious, philosophical, and political themes, expressed in lengthy tirades. The plays are written in verse; usually, with the exception of the chorus, in alexandrines. I have pointed out that not more than three actors are allowed to take part in a conversation¹. The result is a form that is lyric and elegiac rather than dramatic, although this fact did not keep the plays from being acted.

This type of tragedy continues to flourish in the reign of Henri IV. It is exemplified by Montchrestien, who gives it its most poetic expression, if not its most dramatic, in his *Carthaginoise*, *Lacènes*, *Hector*, *David*, *Aman*; by Chrétien des Croix in *Amnon et Thamar*; by Nicolas de Montreux in *Sophonisbe* and *Cléopâtre*; by Claude Billard in *Polyxène*, *Panthée*, and *Saül* — to mention only the most prolific authors of the period. But along with these are others that show greater or lesser variations from the system. Greek and Roman history had already been extended to include that of ancient peoples, knowledge of whom comes to us through classical sources. Examples are found in this period in the popular story of Panthée from Xenophon and in that of Cammate from Plutarch. The religious group of plays is still largely Biblical in inspiration, but it includes plots based on the lives of saints (Saint Cloaldus, Saint Sebastian, Saint Cecilia) and a Protestant play (*François Spéra*) written to indicate the danger of relapsing into Catholicism. More important is the addition of medieval and recent history to source material. Turkish history had been dramatized by Bounin in 1561. In 1608 a tragedy concerned with Solomon II was played at the Collège des Bons Enfants at Rheims¹. The history

(1) *M. L. N.*, XXIII (1908), 173-177.

(2) Cf. *Soleinne*, n° 993 and L. Paris, *Le théâtre à Reims*, Rheims, Michaud, 1885, p. 84. The name of the author was Thillois.

of the Lombards was drawn upon by Chrétien des Croix and Billard, that of the Franks by the latter. The comparatively recent history of Joan of Arc furnished the subject for a play published in 1603, as it had done some thirty years before. Gaston de Foix, the Portuguese in South Africa, and Mary Queen of Scots are treated in tragedies whose material comes from events of the sixteenth century.

Romantic themes are also selected, both from ancient sources, as that of *Charite* from Lucian, and from modern epics and novels. Ariosto, Tasso, and Pescatore furnish the plots for five plays; Ronsard's *Franciade* for one, possibly two. One is derived from Sidney's *Arcadia*, others, such as *Dalcmeon*, *Philis*, and *Acoubar*, from French novels. Indeed we can divide the tragedies into three groups of nearly equal size, one containing plays of Greek or Roman origin, a second dealing with the Bible or saints' lives, a third drawing its material from more modern history or literature.

There is an accompanying change in other respects. The division into five acts is not altogether respected. *Psamménite* has four, *Cammate* seven. The time that elapses between the beginning and end of Berthrand's *Pryam* is over ten years. Both France and Bulgaria are represented in the *Mort de Roger*. *Josué* recounts not only the capture of Jericho, but that of Ai, after the manner of a mystery play. Moreover, there is a marked tendency, especially among plays of the third group, to have the action, both physical and psychological, take place before our eyes, thus shifting the emphasis from lamentation to action and preparing the development of seventeenth century tragedy. A few examples will serve to illustrate these statements.

Chrétien des Croix published in 1608 his *Portugais infortunés* and received the praise of contemporary dramatists, Montreux, Généty de la Gillebardière, Roland du Jardin, etc. As some of these place him above Sophocles, Euripides, Seneca, and Garnier, his methods were evidently not distasteful to them. He keeps the externals of the older tragedy, prologue, lengthy monologues, division into five acts, chorus, a pathetic ending, but he selects a modern subject and shows a striking interest in exotic surroundings and manners. In the first act we find the shipwrecked Portuguese lying on the sand in southern Africa, hoping to obtain food and shelter from the natives by presenting them with a mirror, spoons, and a bell. An African "Pontife" is surprised to find white persons and tries to remove their color with water :

Elle ne s'en va point, ie croy que nature
 Vous aporte naissans ceste blanche teinture.

Then follows, from the Portuguese, an account of the descent from Noah of the three races and, on the part of the African, a description of the government, religion, and manners of his people. Their dislike of foreigners, which he admits, is soon exemplified by their attacking the Portuguese, who repulse them with the noise of their cannon. Soon, however, by the promise of food, the blacks persuade the Portuguese to surrender their arms and, in spite of the queen's sympathy for them, strip them and leave them to die. In the last act two children perish, we learn that one of the Portuguese has been killed by a wild animal, and the rest wander off in search of food.

In Bauter's *Mort de Roger* (pub. 1605) a further step is taken. Not only is the subject no longer ancient, but it is based on modern fiction, Pescatore's continuation of the *Orlando furioso*. The leading persons are Roger and Alcine, the former a victim, but the latter an active character with a struggle in her soul. She still loves Roger, but, owing to her anger at his abandonment of her and marriage to Bradamante and the persuasive powers of Ganelon, agrees to put him to death. In the second act she desires revenge, but refuses to act on her squire's advice and kill him. She would only get him into her power. A little later Ganelon induces her to say :

Allons, et que l'amour que ie porte a Roger
 S'estouffe pour iamais afin de me venger.

She still hopes in the third act, however, that he may repent and be spared. A classical scene of persuasion follows :

A. : O Roger, mon Roger.
 G. : Roger qui a mocqué
 Vostre amour et qui [a] Astolphe prouoqué.
 A. : Cil que i'ay tant aymé.
 Celuy lequel se vante,
 D'auoir iouy de vous.
 A. : Ha ! desdain qui me tente,
 Sors ne m'afflige plus, tousiours tousiours ie veux
 Dresser a ce Roger, mes plaintes et mes vœux.
 G. : Et vous verrez tousiours qu'en mocquant vostre flame
 Roger vous donnera du tourment et du blâme.

She agrees to give to herself and to Ganelon the form of Roger's brothers, but she again wavers when she talks with Roger. It is only after she has learned that he has definitely given her up that she

agrees to enchant his weapons and even after she has done so declares that it has been done against her will. Surely here we find a germ of the active and psychological type of tragedy that was to prevail in France a generation later.

Phalante is also near the seventeenth century type of play, for the interest is concentrated upon three persons, all active and constantly struggling with one another. There are certain errors of structure and some extraneous material is introduced, but in the main the play is quite as close to tragedies of the next generation as are those of Hardy. The soul struggle, though insufficiently developed, is suggested. Action rather than lamentation dominates the play¹. Another tragedy containing a struggle is Schelandre's *Tyr et Sidon*, which, though keeping the chorus, is distinctly active in character rather than contemplative. It will be studied with plays performed in 1628, for it was then that it reappeared as a tragi-comedy in two *journées*².

From these examples it seems clear that the qualities that M. Lanson finds³ in certain of Hardy's tragedies existed also elsewhere. They suggest that the French classical tragedy might have developed as it did, had Hardy never existed. What he did more than any other author of tragedies was to give the qualities I have just noted in the case of Bauter, Galaut, and Schelandre to plays of classical origin and to produce a larger number of tragedies than anyone else. As we shall see, however, tragedy almost ceased to be written about 1628 and, when it was revived, the influence not only of these early tragedies and of Hardy has to be considered, but that of Seneca, of the Italians, of tragi-comedy, and of pastoral. It is perhaps idle to consider what might have been. The fact is that Hardy's contribution to the evolution of tragedy was important, but it is a mistake to suppose that he was the only link between the type of tragedy that flourished in the sixteenth century and that which was produced by Corneille and his contemporaries.

(1) I have shown in *M. L. N.*, XLII (1927), 74-77, that this play probably furnishes the first example of the influence of English literature upon French. It is based on Sidney's *Arcadia* and transmitted the plot derived from it to La Calprenède's *Phalante*. Galaut's play was certainly written before the end of 1605, as the author died in that year. It must have been acted subsequently at the Hôtel de Bourgogne, for a prologue for it by Bruscambille is mentioned by the frères Parfaict, IV, 136-139. Rigal discussed the question as to whether this play was written by Hardy, but he had not a shred of evidence to show that it was and was obviously influenced by his desire to defend his hypothesis that Hardy alone wrote plays for the Hôtel; cf. his *op. cit.*, p. 322.

(2) For a study of the play in its original form cf. the edition of it published by Haraszti in the *Textes Français Modernes*.

(3) Cf. his *Esquisse*, pp. 42-46.

III. — Tragi-comedy

There had been a feeling throughout the sixteenth century that the ancient genres of tragedy and comedy did not exhaust the list of possible kinds of plays and that the term tragi-comedy, first found in Plautus's *Amphitryon*, might be revived. During the sixteenth century it was applied to various types of plays, including one variety that was characterized by a romantic plot of a serious nature, but with a happy ending. Examples of this kind were furnished by Le Jars in his *Lucelle* and by Garnier in his *Bradamante*¹. That such a type of play might be allowed had been debated at length in Italy² and models had been furnished by Italian authors. A number of tragi-comedies were written in the reign of Henri IV, some of them allegorical³, others Biblical⁴. Only four have survived that represent the kind of tragi-comedy that was to be written by Alexandre Hardy and to become between 1628 and 1641 the most popular of all dramatic forms. These four are the *Polyxène* of Behourt, played at a school in Rouen in 1597 and based on a romantic and allegorical tale by Boaistuau; *l'Ethiopique* (pub. 1609) of O. C. Génétay, a dramatization of Heliodorus's novel; Auvray's *Marfilie* (pub. 1609), republished in 1628 as *l'Innocence découverte*, a comic and indecent play, remotely connected with the story of Phaedra and Hippolytus; and Billard's *Genèvre* (pub. 1610), derived from the *Orlando furioso* and chiefly noteworthy for giving in its last lines the first example in French of the lyric monologue⁵. These plays have many characteristics of sixteenth century tragedy. *L'Ethiopique* has a prologue and a chorus and shows concentration in place and time. *Marfilie* has a *nourrice*, *Genèvre* the long speeches characteristic of the author's tragedies. Nevertheless, they served to keep the genre alive and to make possible the writing of a serious play with a happy ending. They appealed in this way, as well as by the freedom of their form, to the taste of spectators who were still interested in the medieval stage. They, like the

(1) Cf. my *French Tragi-comedy*, Baltimore, 1907.

(2) Cf. Marsan, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-68 and F. H. Ristine, *English Tragi-Comedy*, New York, Columbia Press, 1910, pp. 27-44.

(3) Jean Gaulcher's *l'Amour divin*, Troyes, Briden, 1601; A. Lancel's *Miroir de l'union belgique*, 1604, to which may be added a "fable morale" by L. Geliot, entitled *Psyché* (Agen, Pomaret, 1599).

(4) *Jacob* by A. de la Pujade, published with his *Mariade*, Bordeaux, 1605, and *Thobie* by Jacques Ouyn, Rouen, R. du Petit-Val, 1606.

(5) It is possible that the play seen by Racan in his "grande jeunesse" and some others discussed in my third chapter may belong here.

less regular tragedies, helped develop a type of play that emphasized action. They were of special importance in the introduction of a definite intrigue, for, having to end well, they did not proceed, as tragedy often did, in a rectilinear fashion, but tended to display a change both from good fortune to bad and, in the end, from bad to good.

IV. — Pastoral

The most popular genre of the period, next to tragedy, was the pastoral. Brief dialogued eclogues had been written in France earlier in the sixteenth century, but the first pastorals that possess sufficiently dramatic qualities to be worthy of the name were those that were composed after Tasso's *Aminta* (pub. 1580, first translated into French in 1584) had definitely set a model for this new type of play ¹. According to M. Marsan, only two French pastorals preceded 1590, the *Athlette* of Montreux (pub. 1585) and the *Beau Pasteur* of Fonteny (pub. 1587), but the genre quickly became popular, so that about twenty were published during the reign of Henri IV. Among the better known plays were those of Montchrestien and Montreux, the *Chaste Bergère* (pub. 1597) of La Roque, Dumas's *Lydie* (pub. 1609), and the *Isabelle* of Paul Ferry (pub. 1610). Besides the *Aminta*, the chief influences were, as M. Marsan has shown, Guarini's *Pastor fido*, Groto's *Pentimento amoroso*, and the famous Spanish pastoral novel, the *Diana* of Montemayor. The characters are most conventional. Shepherds and shepherdesses usually love according to a formula that may be called a chain of lovers (A loves B, who loves C, who loves D, etc.), until by the use of magic, the recognition of a lost relative, or some equally improbable device, half the lovers alter the direction of their affections (B returns A's love, D that of C, etc.). Vows of chastity, disguise of men as women, attempted suicide characterize many of the plays. One of the shepherdesses is often indifferent to love and devoted to hunting during much of the play. The satyr, representing brutal passion, is a conspicuous type of villain, but tends to become a farcical character, easily deceived by the artful shepherdess and beaten by her lover. The magician is also an important person with his mirrors, philters, etc., used now to create an obstacle to the lovers' happiness, now to remove it. Occasionally knights are introduced and at times they become more important than the shepherds,

(1) Cf. Marsan, *la Pastorale dramatique*, Paris, Hachette, 1905.

turning the play into a tragi-comedy with a pastoral setting. A number of gods are brought in, most frequently Diana and her enemies, Venus and Cupid.

The outline made by the adventures of these persons is filled in with stereotyped reflections on the nature of love, the sweetness of pastoral life, the return of spring, the praise of hunting and the Golden Age. The effect of these passages is to increase the atmosphere of conventionality that permeates the plot, the characters, and the setting, with its eternal forests, rocks, caves, springs, and temples. Nevertheless these pastorals appealed to those who were interested in country life, however artificially described¹, in magic, in emphasis placed upon love, and in certain passages that show even to-day a musical quality or an appreciation of nature.

V. — Other Genres

A few plays defy classification or have such special characteristics that they can hardly be grouped with the more familiar types. Such are the "histoire morale" called *Les amoureux brandons de Franciarque et Calixène*², a sort of comedy in which the hero conceals himself in an artist's studio while the girl he loves is posing for a portrait of Venus, and several plays written to defend or attack important contemporaries. Among the latter may be noted *Le Guisien*³ in defense of the Guises and *Le Triomphe de la Ligue*⁴ in which they are hotly attacked. Others are so-called eclogues, concerned with persons of smaller importance. A curious example is furnished by *Le Théâtre de Neptune en la Nouvelle France*, a kind of pageant acted in Canada on Sept. 14, 1606, to celebrate the return of Poutrincourt from the land of the Archimouquois. According to Paul Lacroix⁵, "les sauvages parlent en français et les tritons en patois gascon". Pixérécourt might have found suggestions in it for his *Christophe Colomb*! We shall find a number of similar personal or political plays between 1610 and 1629.

The disappearance of comedy, a genre that had been cultivated quite extensively in the preceding years, is noteworthy. The

(1) We shall see that the pastoral begins to decay as the city life of Paris begins to dominate the French theatrical world.

(2) Cf. *Bib. du th. fr.*, I, 387 and *Soleinne*, I, 227. It was published at Paris in 1606 and was reprinted by Lacroix, Geneva, Gay, about 1869.

(3) Troyes, Moreau, 1592. Cf. *Bib. du th. fr.*, I, 287-290.

(4) Leyden, Basson, 1607. Cf. *Bib. du th. fr.*, I, 400-404.

(5) Cf. *Soleinne*, n° 935. For Poutrincourt cf. R. G. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Cleveland, Burrows, 1896, vol. I, and G. Chinard, *L'Amérique et le rêve exotique*, Paris, Hachette, 1913, pp. 102-108.

popular farce and the occasional comic passages that are found in plays belonging to other genres seem to have sufficed for the public, although models for comedy were not lacking in the Latin and Italian literary background and the state of society was not very different from that which had produced a few years before the plays of Larivey¹ and Tournebu. The only new element seems to have been the birth of the pastoral and the growth in popularity of irregular tragedy. Perhaps the interest taken in these genres turned aside writers who might otherwise have composed comedies, so that few of the latter were produced until these ceased to be a novelty. When, moreover, comedy returned to favor, about 1630, pastorals and irregular tragedies soon began to disappear.

VI. — Theory

There is little evidence to show that writers of the period reflected deeply upon their art. Most of them probably turned for their form to French dramatists like Garnier or to Italian authors of pastorals. One, however, a certain Hélye Garel, boasts of knowing that a tragedy should rarely admit more than one god, should avoid all that is not true, and should keep the rule of twenty-four hours :

Car la Muse tragique est ainsi ordonnée
Qu'elle contient sans plus l'œuvre d'une journée ;
Rien de feint, rien de faux, rien qui soit supposé
Ou qui soit par l'auteur légèrement osé ..².

Another author of plays went further and left us an *Art poétique*. This is Laudun d'Aigaliers, who published the tragedies of *Dioclétien* and *Horace* in 1596, his critical work two years later. His models are Greek, Roman, and French authors, among the latter especially Garnier, La Péruse, and Jodelle. He knew, too, the tragedies of Beaubreuil and Mermet. He defines the different genres. According to him the pastoral, or "bergerie", as he prefers to call it, is concerned with love, written in verses of 10 or of 12 syllables, introducing wolves, dogs, nymphs, "sylvains", and containing not less than 200 or more than 1000 lines. Comedy deals with persons of low estate, chambermaids, bakers, weavers, braggart soldiers, young fops, old men, etc. It begins in sadness and ends in joy.

(1) His last two comedies were not published till 1611, but are said by the editor to have been written many years before, probably earlier than the reign of Henri IV.

(2) Cf. the preface to his *Sophonisbe*, quoted in *Soleinne*, n° 953.

Divine and allegorical characters and satyrs may be introduced. It is like the farce except that the latter is shorter, not more than 400 lines in length, is not divided into acts, is constantly ludicrous, and excludes divinities and abstractions. He admits having written "quelque comédie" himself, but adds that he has not yet given his work to the public. His views are evidently based partly on ancient models, partly on the moralities and farces that were still being played.

For tragedy d'Aigaliers claims to have studied Plato and Aristotle, but he must have found little to guide him in the former and, if he consulted the latter, he did not understand him, for he holds that tragedy should describe the life of heroes and treat only what is true. Divinities and allegorical characters are excluded, though he admits introducing Mercury and a fury into his *Dioclétien*. The characters should be kings and noblemen; persons of low estate should be excluded unless absolutely required by the narrative that is being dramatized. Tragedy deals with affairs of state, with battles, murder, rape, exile, etc. The greater the misery, the better the tragedy, though the executions take place behind the scenes. It is written to be acted. Ghosts should appear only at the beginning of the play. He opposes the rule that confined the number of interlocutors to three and declares, in support of his opinion, that as many as four were used by Louis Léger in 1597. A chorus must end each act except the last and must be sung. He admits that he had been misled by the example of Beaubreuil and Mermet when he placed a chorus within the acts of his own plays and at the end of the fifth. He opposes the rule of twenty-four hours in the name of liberty, because the ancients had not always observed it, and because the life of a hero cannot be reduced to such a brief period.

We have no evidence that d'Aigaliers's treatise was read by those who wrote plays, but he is of interest as expressing certain tendencies of the day. Some of his rules are quite in keeping with the usage of Renaissance tragedy, but his idea that the whole life of a hero should be dramatized opposed orthodox theory from Aristotle down and was seldom exemplified in actual practice¹. The freedom on which he insists with regard to the unity of time and the number of interlocutors and his exclusion of divinities and allegorical persons ally him with the less regular dramatists, who were breaking away from the school of Jodelle and Garnier.

(1) Cf. however, the *Jacob* of La Pujade and the *Pyram* of Berthrand, which cover a large number of years, if not a whole life.

Although not published until 1605, the *Art poétique* of Vauquelin de la Fresnaye, begun some thirty years before ¹, represents more closely in some respects the point of view of the older dramatists, for, while he agrees with d'Aigaliers as to tragic events, division into five acts, and use of alexandrines, he insists on the unity of time (II, 258), the employment of not more than three interlocutors (II, 465, 466), and does not emphasize the *vrai* at the expense of the *vraisemblable*. The models he upholds are Sophocles, Euripides, and Seneca. He mentions with approval a number of French authors from Jodelle to Garnier. He insists upon *bienséance* (II, 330) and would have deeds of violence hidden behind the curtains (II, 385-412). He allows a tragedy to end in happiness, finding authority for such usage in Euripides (III, 170, 171). He objects to the dramatization of contemporary events, but admits that they may be utilized by future authors of tragedy when they will have become historical. He dislikes pagan divinities, but recommends subjects taken from the Bible or lives of saints. Perseus is inferior to Saint George as a rescuer.

For comedy his models are Plautus and Terence. There should be a prologue and three divisions, corresponding to what later writers call exposition, *nœud*, and *dénouement*. He mentions Grévin, Belleau, and Chasteau-Vieux, alludes to a farce "au vray Pate-linee" (III, 507), to Italian stock characters, Zani and Pantalon, an Italian actor, Ganasse (I, 859, II, 780), to the Conards of Rouen (II, 1017), and to the Hôtel de Bourgogne (II, 416). He objects to the "honteuse besongne" depicted at the latter theater and banishes all similar spectacles from the stage. He recommends, however, the study of manners, but unfortunately clings to classical prescriptions for the stereotyping of characters. The verse to be employed is that of 8 syllables.

Unlike his predecessors in dramatic theory in France, he makes a place for tragi-comedy, even though he disapproves of the term (III, 163-168) :

On fait la Comedie aussi double, de sorte
Qu'auecques le Tragic le Comic se raporte.
Quand il y a du meurtre et qu'on voit toutefois,
Qu'à la fin sont contens les plus grands et les Rois,
Quand du graue et du bas le parler on mendie,
On abuse du nom de Tragecomedie.

(1) Cf. the edition of G. Pélissier, Paris, Garnier, 1885.

Vauquelin is essentially conservative in his point of view, but he understands that times have changed in certain respects. He is chiefly important for illustrating the fact that French dramatic authors were taking ancient usage into consideration without following it blindly. His direct influence is negligible, for there is no evidence that Mairet, Chapelain, Corneille, La Mesnardière, and d'Aubignac made use of him. They turned, as we shall see, rather to French plays that were written after his *Art poétique* appeared, to Italian pastorals, to ancient tragedies and comedies, to Renaissance interpreters of Aristotle, both for their practice and for their theory of dramatic art.

VII. — *Mise en scène*

The general question of the staging of plays will be treated in Chapter XI. It will be sufficient to refer briefly here to the small amount of evidence that exists for this early period. As we find a generation later at the Hôtel de Bourgogne the medieval system of placing upon the stage at one time the various portions of scenery that were to be subsequently utilized instead of separating them as we do to-day by the dropping of a curtain, we may safely assume that full-length plays given in that theater during the reign of Henri IV were staged in accordance with this ancient system. It must have survived, too, in the provinces when plays were given by local *confréries*. It is a question, however, whether strolling players could carry with them or schoolmasters supply the necessary paraphernalia for such an elaborate *mise en scène* as was that in use at Paris. As M. Lanson holds ¹:

Ils durent souvent se contenter des costumes, de la musique (plus ou moins), de quelques accessoires et praticables, et jouer sur une estrade sans décorations, généralement entourée de rideaux de trois côtés, parfois sans rideaux.

In confirmation of this statement he refers to engravings reproduced by Bapst, but the value of engravings as evidence in matters of stage decoration is open to question. On the other hand, his point of view is justified by the notes published with the tragicomedy, *Jacob*, probably played before Queen Marguerite, the divorced wife of Henri IV. Before the actors enter, a musician plays the lute and sings. Then Isaac "viendra sur le Theatre avec vn baston à la main, appuyé d'un costé de son fils Esau, et de l'autre

(1) *Esquisse*, p. 31.

de sa femme : et s'assoira dans vne chaire". Rebecca returns to the other end of the stage and speaks to Esau, who retires after an exhortation from his father. "Lors Jacob homme timide et doux, paroistra sur le Theatre, et ayant salüé sa mere ils entreront en discours". When he has made his exit with his mother, Esau returns, describes the delights of hunting and retires behind a "toile" that represents a forest. Verses are sung to end the act ¹. Although the scene shifts to other localities, no mention is made of compartments and it seems probable that none were represented except by the curtain at the back of the stage. Other curtains may have been substituted for this one at certain times or this one curtain may have had several localities painted upon it. The evidence goes to show that there was no curtain to conceal the stage and that the setting was far less elaborate than that of the Hôtel de Bourgogne, though an attempt may have been made to follow the same system in cruder fashion.

A far more elaborate *mise en scène* was that displayed at the performance of Montreux's pastoral, *Arimène*, at the château of the duc de Mercœur ². Four pentagonal forms were placed upon the stage and connected with a screw that could be turned by a man underneath the stage in such a way that five different decorations could be displayed in turn ³. There were spaces between the pentagons for the players to enter and leave the stage. One decoration was used for the play, the other four for the *intermèdes*. A cave was represented on one side of the stage, a rock on the other. The sky at night and heavenly bodies were shown above the stage. In one of the *intermèdes* Jupiter appeared in a globe "qui venant à s'ouvrir fait voir ce dieu assis sur un arc en ciel". In another a live cow was loosed and made to run about the stage. This experiment in stage decoration, which cost the duke 4000 écus, was doubtless too expensive to be imitated often, but it shows that, where the necessary funds could be obtained, the medieval system of representing several localities at once was still in vogue, for the cave and the rock, combined with any one of the decorations displayed by the pentagons, composed a *mise en scène* not unlike the kind employed at the Hôtel de Bourgogne.

(1) The play was published at Bordeaux in 1604. There is a copy at the Arsenal, B. L. 7788. Cf. my *French Tragi-comedy*, pp. 88-90.

(2) Paris, A. Saugrain, 1597. Cf. L. Lacour, *Revue française*, XII (1858), cited by Marsan, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-216.

(3) This form of decoration must have been suggested by Vitruvius, V, 6, 8 (Morgan's translation). The *Ballet de la Reine* (1581) may have acted as intermediary; cf. Celler, *Les Décors etc.*, Paris, 1869, p. 5.

It seems, then, that the system of stage decoration was not yet definitely fixed, that the medieval system, preserved at Paris, could be employed elsewhere, if opportunity offered, but that it might be modified, if the necessary decorations could not be procured.

* * *

This somewhat hasty study of the reign of Henri IV reveals considerable dramatic activity, both in the composition and in the performance of plays, but the existence of no work of permanent significance. Tragedy continues to be the most popular genre, but the type that had been dominant begins to lose its hold and to encounter serious rivalry from less regular plays. At the same time tragi-comedies become slightly more numerous and pastorals establish themselves in popular favor. Comedy is practically extinct except in so far as it is represented by the humble farce, or by occasional passages in plays belonging to other genres. A similar situation will be found, though differing in certain details, in the dramatic output of the nine years following the death of Henri IV, but before studying them, we must take up a man who began to write at the end of the sixteenth century and who left a more important name than any of the dramatists we have been discussing. That man is Alexandre Hardy.

CHAPTER II

ALEXANDRE HARDY (1595 ?-1631 ?)

I. — His Life

It is quite possible, though by no means certain, that Hardy belonged to a cultivated middle-class family whose members included, according to Rigal¹ and Roy², a translator, a professor of philosophy, and a lawyer. He called himself a Parisian and, as he began to write about 1595³, he may be supposed to have been born some 18 or 20 years before. Rigal shows that he must have received a good education, for his constructions and extensive knowledge of

(1) *Alexandre Hardy*, Paris, Hachette, 1889, pp. 2, 3. Discoveries made since this book was published make it necessary to rewrite the life of the dramatist.

(2) "Un pamphlet d'Alexandre Hardy", *R. H. L.*, XXII (1915), 518, 519.

(3) As we shall see, Hardy visited Rapin at Fontenay-le-Comte ten years after his début. Since Rapin died in 1608, Hardy's career could not have begun later than 1598, but he may have visited Rapin as early as 1597, the date at which the latter began to live at Fontenay-le-Comte. In the dedication to *Théagène et Cariclé* Hardy says he has been writing for 30 years. This statement appeared first in 1623, but it reappeared in the edition of 1628. Is this due to carelessness on the part of the author or printer, or does it mean that the date is an approximation of the truth and would have been as true in 1628 as in 1623? In support of the latter hypothesis may be cited Hardy's phrase in the *Au Lecteur* to the fifth volume of his plays, which appeared on Aug. 18, 1628, "ce que mon foible iugement a reconeu depuis trente ans pour les secrets de l'art". This Rigal seeks to explain by suggesting that Hardy did not learn these secrets till he had been writing for five years, but this explanation is certainly not to be taken seriously. The context shows that Hardy is referring to the whole of his previous career as a dramatist. Moreover, in another document of 1628, one with which Rigal was not acquainted when he wrote, Hardy's pamphlet published by M. Roy (*op. cit.*, p. 539), he refers to himself as "celuy à qui le Teatre François doit son entretien depuis trente ans". Thirty years is, of course, a round number, but if Hardy had begun to write in 1593, as Rigal and Roy hold, he would probably, in 1628, have written 35 rather than 30. A date between the two is more probable than either, let us say about 1595. The line

Parsque senescenti nulla vigoris abest,

addressed to Hardy in 1624, applies about as well to 49 years of age as it does to 51, for in Hardy's day one was considered old after he had passed forty; cf. Montaigne, *De la Praesumption*, Strowski edition, Bordeaux, Pech, 1909, II, 422, "je suis engagé dans les auenuës de la vieillesse, ayant pieça franchy les quarante ans".

mythology indicate that he knew Latin fairly well, though he turned to translations for the plots of his plays. He is called learned by two of his friends and by Scudéry. Rigal concludes that he was too well educated to have been an actor himself, or the son of an actor. He seems to have read Ronsard and sixteenth century dramatists as well as numerous contemporary prose writers.

The first piece of evidence about his dramatic career is contained in Colletet's life of Rapin. This work has been destroyed, but the passage concerned with Hardy was copied by Paulin Paris¹ and reprinted by Clouzot². It runs as follows :

Ce fameux divertissement de nostre théâtre françois le gentil Alexandre Hardy, se rencontrant un jour à Fontenay-le-Comte l'[Rapin] alla visiter en sa maison de Terre-Neuve, où il luy presenta, en sa louange, une longue élégie françoise que je garde précieusement encore escrite de la main de l'auteur, elle commence ainsy :

Mon désir et mon heur en ce pèlerinage,
Qui tient depuis dix ans la course de mon âge,
Termé à moy plus fatal que celui d'Ilion,
Est de connoistre ceux qui d'entre un million
De peuples épandus sur la terre où nous sommes,
Surpassent en vertu le vulgaire des hommes
Et comme le fin Grec remarquant leurs humeurs,
Me former aux patrons de leurs louables meurs.

Clouzot points out the fact that this is the first piece of evidence we possess to show that Hardy was employed by a troupe of actors, for whom he had been working for ten years when he visited Rapin. As a troupe was playing in Poitou in 1605, there is no conflict between these verses and the supposition that Hardy's career began about 1595. It is quite possible that the troupe was that of the Comédiens du Roi, headed by Valleran Leconte, but there is no certainty of it. Rigal, who overlooked the evidence from Colletet, concluded that he wrote for this particular troupe largely because Tallemant states that Racan, when a page, was much excited by Hardy's plays, which he saw acted at the Hôtel de Bourgogne³, but Valleran's

(1) *Cabinet historique*, Paris, 1871, XVII, 255, 256.

(2) *Ancien théâtre en Poitou*, Niort, L. Clouzot, 1901, pp. 64-66. It was also published by M. Roy, *op. cit.*

(3) Cf. Rigal, *op. cit.*, p. 33. He also cites what he admits to be the doubtful evidence of the key, published in 1667, to Tristan's *Page disgracié*. According to this document, Hardy was in 1613 the hired poet of Valleran and Vautray. Fontenelle asserts in his life of Corneille, as Rigal notes, that Hardy was attached to a troupe of strolling players, supplying them with a play "au bout de huit jours" when they needed one, but he does not say what troupe this was. Hardy's title of "poète de sa Majesté", found in the *privilege* to his first published play of Oct. 8, 1622, is interpreted by Rigal to mean "poète des comédiens de sa Majesté", but this interpretation does not apply to his career before 1622.

troupe was not the only one that played in that theater while Racan was a page, a period that extended from 1603 to 1608 ¹, for we know that the company of Thomas Poirier was there in 1604. If Rigal is right, as he certainly is for a part of Hardy's career, if not for the whole of it, the playwright must have accompanied the Comédiens du Roi on their peregrinations in France and the Low Countries. In 1625 and 1626 he was undoubtedly the "poète" of this troupe and was living in a house on the "rue de Bretagne aux Marais du Temple" with two actors, Louis de la Barre and Pierre Marcoureau, Sieur de Beaulieu, the father of Brécourt, for Dr. Fransen ² has recently discovered leases of the Hôtel de Bourgogne, signed in those years by Alexandre Hardy (or Le Hardy as the name once appears) in company with those of Bellerose and other well known actors of that troupe. Is the absence of his name in other years when the troupe rented the Hôtel due to the fact that he was then considered too unimportant to be allowed to sign the documents, or to the fact that he was not in those years a member of the troupe? At any rate he must have been with it long enough, as Rigal points out, to compose the unpublished plays that formed part of its repertory a couple of years after his death ³.

For whatever troupe Hardy originally wrote, he undoubtedly composed an enormous number of plays. In 1623 and in 1625 he declares that he had written 500 of them, 600 in 1628. Rigal calculates ⁴ that he wrote about 700 in all, a number unequaled by any other dramatist in France, or, as far as I know, in any other country except Spain. His work, of course, suffered, for he must have had little time for selecting his subjects, planning and composing his plays. He seems, moreover, to have been poorly paid and, perhaps on this account, dedicated his works to well-known patrons, including Payen, who protected Saint-Amant and Scarron, Montmorency, Condé, and Liancourt. The most noteworthy of the friends who address complimentary verses to him are Laffemas, the notorious police official, once a dramatist, Théophile de Viau, and Tristan l'Hermite ⁵.

Towards the end of his career Hardy suffered from the rivalry of younger dramatists. He was moved by their success to attack them,

(1) Cf. Arnould, *Racan*, Paris, A. Colin, 1896, p. 39.

(2) *R. H. L.*, XXXIV (1927), 347. He found Hardy's name also on a lease of Feb. 17, 1623, but stricken out.

(3) Cf. below, p. 45.

(4) *Op. cit.*, pp. 62-64.

(5) *Ibid.*, pp. 43-58.

as M. Roy has shown ¹, in the *Au Lecteur* of the fifth volume of his plays, which appeared on Aug. 18, 1628 :

D'autres aussi, que l'on pourroit nommer excremens du Barreau, s'imaginent de mauuais Aduocats pouuoir deuenir bous Poëtes en moins de temps que les champignons ne croissent, et se laissent tellement emporter à la vanité de leur sens et des louanges que leur donne la langue charlatane de quelque éceruelé d'Histrion, que de là ces miserables corbeaux prophanent l'honneur du Theatre de leur vilain croacement, et se presument être sans apparence ce qu'ils ne peuuent iamais esperer avec raison, iusqu'à bâtir s'il étoit possible sur les ruines de la bonne renommee de ceux qui ne daigneroient auouer de si mauuais écoliers qu'eus.

He seems to have had in mind Pierre Du Ryer and Auvray, each of whom was a lawyer and the author of a tragi-comedy. Auvray went to see him, but found him ill. Not long afterwards, probably before Oct. 16², Du Ryer and he replied to Hardy by writing to each other letters addressed, respectively, to Poliarque and to Damon ³. Du Ryer accuses Hardy of jealousy and conservatism. "Il se fasche de la bonne fortune de vos œuvres", whence the invectives, but Auvray need envy neither Hardy's intellectual equipment, nor his social position, fame, or income.

Il blasme cette grande affluence de belles pensees... Il semble à l'ouyr que dans un changement de stile contraire au sien on face des heresies et des mutations d'Estat... Les Contes de la Reyne de Nauarre ont eu leur temps, on trauaille aujourd'huy plus utilement à de meilleurs ourages. Monsieur d'Vrfé n'a pas escrit comme Esope, ny Theophile comme Marot... la pureté des langues augmente de iour en iour... qui eust laissé l'eau comme nous l'auions de nos premiers parens, nous n'aurions pas ces belles grottes où l'artifice dispute avec la nature... nous ne sommes pas Romains ny Romans, nous escriuons à Paris, on y parle assez bien, sans emprunter vn idiome estranger.

Du Ryer represents the revolt of youth, the tendency of the day away from the style and vocabulary of the sixteenth century. He was, of course, much more of a scholar than Hardy and his first two plays were drawn from ancient literature, but he believed in the ideas of Malherbe rather than those of Ronsard and protested against the pedantry that is noticeable in Hardy's verses. He concludes by telling Poliarque that their friends, Thyrsis and Alcidon, will support

(1) *Op. cit.*

(2) Malherbe, who died on that day, is referred to as if still alive.

(3) M. Roy discovered these letters at the Mazarine and identified the authors as Pierre Du Ryer and Auvray, but he attributed Du Ryer's letter to Auvray and Auvray's to Du Ryer. I corrected these attributions in *R. H. L.*, XXIV (1917), 414-421. The Auvray in question is not, as M. Roy supposed, the author of the *Banquet des Muses*, but a younger man, who wrote only two tragi-comedies, *Madonte* and *Dorinde*.

him. These were probably other dramatists of the new school. Alcidon may be Rayssiguier, as I have suggested ¹.

While Du Ryer pays the common enemy no compliments, his tone is not offensive. Auvray shows less restraint and criticizes Hardy in detail :

La suite confuse de ses paroles mal arrangees, et le desordre d'un iugement qui ne peut nuire qu'a son auteur, donnent contre luy un asseuré tesmoignage de son enuie... Ne t'estonne point de ses iniures, ce sont les discours ordinaires des ignorans, qui blasment indifféremment le vice et la vertu sans cognoistre ny l'un ny l'autre : vne bouche puante et infecte ² ne sçauroit enuoyer que des odeurs de mesme nature.

According to Auvray, Hardy's language is barbarous, he uses such antiquated expressions as "auparauant le Soleil absconsé", and does not write like Malherbe, whose worth and knowledge have won the caresses of the Muses "par le consentement de toute la France, et malgre la rigueur des annees". This last shot was meant to show that Hardy's age was no excuse for his antiquated style and his failure to win the younger generation.

These two letters made Hardy exceedingly angry. He vented his wrath in a pamphlet published before the end of 1628, discovered and reprinted by M. Roy with the letters of his adversaries. The tone of this *Berne des deux rimeurs de l'Hostel de Bourgogne* can be judged by the opening lines :

Deux bonnets carrez qui ne couurent pas la moitié d'une bonne ceruelle, en guise de veaux qui s'entrelechent, ou plutost de mâtins qui abboient a la Lune a cause qu'elle leur semble trop claire, faute d'occupation dans le Palais, où l'on se fie aussi peu à leur langue qu'à leur plume...

He goes on with his zoological terms, calling them or comparing them to harpies, hares, donkeys, elephants, vipers, dogs, rams, toads, spiders, crows, and worms. He accuses them of preferring "quelques belles garces" to the labors of the law courts and reproaches Auvray, against whom he was especially incensed, with being "mal fait du corps et de l'esprit", flat-nosed, or having no nose at all ! He attacks their "style enervé", defends his use of the word *absconcé*, and reminds them that one who writes 600 plays cannot limit himself to

(1) Cf. *R. H. L.*, XXIX (1922), 261. A friend of Du Ryer, he called himself Alcidon in his *Autres œuvres* of 1630.

(2) Du Ryer's recollection of this phrase may have caused him years later to turn the "dentes putridi" of Cicero's oration against Piso into "cette bouche puante, ces dents pourries et infectes". Cf. my *Pierre Du Ryer, Dramatist*, Washington, Carnegie Institution, 1912, p. 30.

the vocabulary of everyday conversation. He shows his literary preferences. He cites as authorities Ronsard and Brisset, who had translated Seneca and Groto in Hardy's youth, and considers Malherbe's style "plus adoré qu'approuvé de beaucoup en ce siècle". He objects to comparing d'Urfé with the "fables d'Esopé, et les écrits de ce brave Théophile à la naïveté de Marot". He insists that there is nothing new to be said, that Ronsard is to be followed in the epic, Tibullus in the elegy, Martial in the epigram, Ovid in the epistle, Seneca and Garnier in tragedy :

Nos Orateurs Courtisans ne trauaillent qu'après Seneque, Tacite, Apulee, et Petrone premièrement imitez du Sieur de Montagne, où ces Messieurs puisent la pluspart de leurs mots affectez, mais aucunement tolerables sous l'autorité d'un tel personnage... Un Marion, du Vair, et Seruin sont les vrais flambeaux de l'Eloquence Françoisé.

He resents the new type of play which introduces "ces nuits propres à offusquer la beauté du Teatre", for "l'Amphytrion de Plaute se moque de telle nouveauté¹". He criticizes the title of Du Ryer's *Arétaphile* and Auvray's subservience to the actors in the composition of his *Madonte*. Under his verbiage and his insults one can detect the feeling that he is being surpassed by these younger writers, though he calls himself the Seneca or Euripides of the French stage. Language, style, and technique are changing and his audiences are turning to other entertainers. This fact was pointed out by Pierre Du Ryer's father, Isaac, in a poem addressed to Hardy and published in his *Heures dérobées* :

Assez longtemps et trop souuent
De tes escrits l'on a fait conte,
Souffre, Hardy, doresnauant
Qu'une ieunesse te surmonte
Et quelque grands labeurs que tu mettes au iour
Quelle [sic] offusque ta gloire, et paroisse à son tour.,
Mais ce n'est pas moy seulement,
Qui suis pour eux, et qui les louë,
Tous ont le mesme sentiment,
Et le plus critique l'aduouë,
Toy mesme par ton fiel, ta rage et ta douleur,
Tu tesmoigne [sic] quelle est leur force et leur valeur².

Old, poor, ill and feeling that he was not appreciated, Hardy

(1) Apparently Hardy had avoided having night represented when his plays were staged. Cf. my article in *R. H. L.*, XXIV (1917), 417.

(2) I published the whole poem in *M. L. N.*, XXIV (1909), 171. M. Roy showed its relation to this quarrel in his article that has just been cited.

probably continued to turn out plays in spite of all difficulties. He is supposed to have lasted long enough to call Corneille's *Mélite* a "jolie bagatelle", but the anecdote, found first in 1684¹, is far from being well authenticated. Rigal concludes that he was probably still living on Sept. 18, 1631, for a poem addressed by him to Georges de Scudéry in honor of his *Ligdamon*, printed on that day, does not show the word *feu* with his name. According to the frères Parfaict (IV, 4), he lived no longer than 1632, for his widow was then bringing suit against the troupe of actors with whom he had been associated. The fact that Rigal could find no record of this suit does not disprove its existence. Its implication in regard to the date of Hardy's death is confirmed by the fact that the dramatist is referred to in Scudéry's *Comédie des comédiens*² as "feu Hardy" and by another piece of evidence that will now be discussed.

In 1897 M. Potez made known the fact that references to Hardy are contained in poems published with Joyel's *Tableau tragique ou les funestes amours de Florivale et d'Orcade*³, but he did not discuss them at any length or show what information can be derived from them with regard to Hardy's career. As, moreover, his book was written in Latin, it failed to attract the attention of students of French literature⁴. M. Marsan⁵ states in passing that Joyel's volume contains two poems devoted to Hardy. As a matter of fact there are three, of which I reprint the most interesting verses. The first, entitled *Sur la mort de Monsieur Hardy Prince des Poetes comiques*, describes the grief of France, and especially Paris, over Hardy's death. Even the king is in distress :

Son Louure n'a plus rien de sa pompe royale
L'esprit du Roy se voit confus dans vn Dedale,
Il retire de Mars ses belloniques fers :
Le Titan luy desplait, il cherche de l'ombrage
Depuis qu'il est priué d'une plume si sage,
Qui ne descrira plus que les faits des Enfers.
On ne voit que frayeur en la Scene comique,
Tous les Actes n'y sont qu'un Fantosme tragique,
On y trempe d'horreur, on n'y voit plus l'Amour :
La Mort pasle en tout temps paroist sur le Theatre ;

(1) Cf. the *Mercurie galant* for October of that year.

(2) Acted, 1632 ; printed, 1633. If we were sure that the word *feu* existed in the original manuscript, this would be conclusive evidence that Hardy died before the end of 1632.

(3) Douay, M. Bogar, 1633 ; *approbation*, June 20. Cf. H. Potez, *Qualis floreret apud Duacenses res poetica, Gallice scripta, quum universa schola a Philippo secundo condita vigere inciperet*, Douai, Linez, p. 148.

(4) M. Potez himself told me this in mentioning his discovery of references to Hardy not long after I had rediscovered them independently.

(5) *Op. cit.*, p. 411.

Bref on n'y voit que sang, on n'y fait que combattre
 Depuis que ce Poete est séparé du iour.
 Le Noir pleure tousiours, et ce braue Fontaine,
 Qui fait si naturelle vne action humeine
 Est tout comme hors de soy de ce docte sonneur :
 Le Guerin qui si bien exprime vne furie
 Ne trouue son repos si farouche il ne crie
 Contre le Monument, qu'il nomme suborneur...
 Non Hardy ne sera esteint dedans la biere...
 Son nom buriné dans vn Erain de gloire
 Durera plus long temps que ne feront les Cieux.

Hardy, then, was certainly dead before June, 1633, very probably in 1632. His prominence as a dramatist is recognized as well as the fact that his loss was felt by both Parisian troupes, for Lenoir was at this time a prominent member of the company afterwards known as that of the Marais Theater and Le Guérin is probably Robert Guérin, called La Fleur and Gros-Guillaume, an equally important member of the Comédiens du Roi. Étienne Rufin, called La Fontaine, is mentioned as an actor in the latter troupe in 1622¹. Both troupes must then have had Hardy's plays in their repertories at the time of his death, a fact also indicated by the presence of unpublished plays by Hardy in the *Mémoire* of Mahelot and by the statement in Scudéry's *Comédie des comédiens* that the rivals of the Comédiens du Roi were in the habit of playing all of Hardy's pieces².

Joyel's second production is supposed to be addressed by Hardy's corpse to the passer-by :

Beau Neveu d'Apollon, qui chemine, et qui passe
 Apporte icy tes pas
 Tu sçauras que la peste a couché ma carcasse
 Dans le lit du Trespas.
 Ma main qui est cachée en ces marbres si blesmes
 Et qui pourrit aux Vers
 A fait parestre au Iour plus de cinq cents poemes
 En Admirables Vers.
 J'ay mis dans son Midy le Theatre de France,
 Et rendu éclattant :

(1) Cf. E. Soulié, *Recherches sur Molière*, Paris, Hachette, 1863, pp. 163, 157, and below, p. 732.

(2) It is even possible that Hardy may have given up his association with the Comédiens du Roi in the last years of his life. This would justify Scudéry more satisfactorily when he claims that all of Hardy's plays could be given by the rivals of the Comédiens du Roi. It would explain Hardy's bitter reference to the "rimcurs de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne". It might even account for the law-suit that Hardy's widow was engaged in, inherited, perhaps, from her husband. Unfortunately the evidence is not sufficient to settle the problem.

Si la Posterité me surpasse et deuançe
 Ce sera m'imitant.
 Je fouloy l'or aux piedz, ie n'en faisoy que fange :
 Mais plus riche en esprit
 I'ay suiuy la Vertu d'une belle louange
 En ce que i'ay escrit.
 Mes œuures voleront sous la Voûte lunaire
 Malgré les Courtisans
 Plus long tamps que les rais du Monarque solaire
 Ne seront pareissans.

Again a testimony to Hardy's reputation as a dramatist, to his having written 500 plays, and to his poverty. What is new is the statement that he died of the plague and that his work, probably because of its antiquated vocabulary, did not please court circles. The third poem, *La Descente de Monsieur Hardy aux chanz d'Elisée*, predicts that he will write "mille vers" in Hades and describes his arrival there and joyful meeting with the actor, Du Mortier :

Il court au Comique, et l'embrasse,
 Comme vn Oreste son Amy.
 Hardy n'este [sic] vous plus là sus ?
 Dit ce bel esprit de theatre,
 Voz carmes, qui ne sont confus
 N'ont ilz peu la Parque combatre ?...

They are put across the Acheron and brought to Pluto's palace, where

Hardy compose en cette cour
 Les gestes du Prince de l'ombre.

In the Campagnes d'Élisée they meet Théophile, who guides them

...à ce Dieu qui file
 Le iour d'un perennel demain.

Joyel is not alone in testifying to Hardy's popularity. It is true that Mairêt, as we shall see, implies in 1631 that he would prefer to have written Tasso's *Aminta* than to have composed all of Hardy's plays, but Scudéry, whose first play Hardy had praised, rewarded him by speaking in the highest terms of his work :

Il auoit vn puissant genie, et vne veine prodigieusement abondante... et certes à luy seul appartient la gloire, d'auoir le premier releué le Theatre François, tombé depuis tant d'annees. Il estoit plein de facilité, et de doctrine, et quoy qu'en vueillent dire ses enuieux, il est certain que c'estoit vn grand homme, et s'il eust aussi bien trauaillé par diuertissement, que par nécessité, ses ouurages auroient

sans doute esté inimitables : mais il auoit trop de part à la pauureté de ceux de sa profession, et c'est ce que produit l'ignorance de nostre siecle, et le mepris de la vertu ¹.

Sarrazin declared that Hardy "veritablement a tiré la Tragedie du milieu des ruës, et des eschaffauts des carrefours ²". Sorel went farther still and asserted that for a long time actors "n'auoient eu autre Poëte que le vieux Hardy ³", that is, before Théophile's *Pyrame*, about 1621. It is this theory of Hardy's having been, before that year, the only French dramatist that Rigal made his own and developed with such zeal that it came near being generally accepted. According to him, sixteenth century plays could not be acted and Hardy was the only dramatist of the only troupe that modernized the theater. But Rigal's theory of the sixteenth century stage, attacked especially by Haraszti, was definitively demolished by M. Lanson, as we have seen in the preceding chapter. Moreover, there were other troupes playing in France than that of the Comédiens du Roi and we know that the latter troupe was giving modern plays before Hardy began to write. There is, furthermore, no evidence to show that these actors gave only his plays while he was employed by them. It is really impossible for any one who looks into the question with an unprejudiced mind to defend this extraordinary theory. The fact is that Hardy was one of a number of dramatists who made the transition from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century type of play. He was by far the most prolific of them and was, as far as we can tell, the first professional French dramatist. Did he differ from his contemporaries in other respects than by his mass production? To answer this question, it is necessary to study his extant plays in detail and, first of all, to endeavor to date them.

II. — Dates of Hardy's Plays

Out of Hardy's six or seven hundred plays only thirty-four have survived, one of them in eight *journées* of five acts each. In addition to these one is mentioned in a poem addressed to the author by Théophile de Viau and ten, two of them in two *journées*, are listed with a description of their setting in the *Mémoire* of Mahelot. They may be classified as follows :

(1) *La Comédie des comédiens*, Paris, Courbé, 1635, II, 1. Cf. also, Gasté, *Querelle du Cid*, Paris, 1898, pp. 276, 281.

(2) *Discours*, published with Scudéry's *Amour tyrannique*, Paris, Courbé, 1639.

(3) *Bibliothèque françoise*, edition of Paris, 1667, p. 204. Sorel's statement is flatly contradicted by that of Laporte; cf. below, p. 64.

I. *Théagène et Cariclée* (8 journées), Paris, Quesnel, 1623 (*priv.*, Oct. 8, 1622) and 1628 ¹.

II. *Didon*, *Scédase*, *Panthée*, *Méléagre* (tragedies), *Procris*, *Alceste*, *Ariadne Rauie* (tragi-comedies), *Alphée* (pastoral), *ibid.*, 1624 (*priv.*, March 16) and 1626 ; Frankfort, Wormen, 1625 ; Marburg, 1883 (Stengel's edition). *Renaut* is mentioned in a poem by Théophile published in this volume.

III. *La Mort d'Achille*, *Coriolan*, *Mariamne* (tragedies), *Cornélie*, *Arsacome* (tragi-comedies), *Alcée* (pastoral), Paris, Quesnel, 1625 (*priv.*, May 28) and 1632 ; Marburg, 1883 (Stengel's edition).

IV. *La Force du Sang*, *Félimène*, *Dorise* ² (tragi-comedies), *Le Ravissement de Proserpine*, *La Gigantomachie* ("poèmes dramatiques"), *Corine ou le silence* ³ (pastoral), Paris, Quesnel, 1626 (*priv.*, May 28, 1625) ; Marburg, 1884 (Stengel's edition).

V. *La Mort de Daire*, *La Mort d'Alexandre* (tragedies), *Aristoclée* ⁴, *Frégonde*, *Gésippe*, *Phraarte* (tragi-comedies), *Triomphe d'amour* (pastoral), Rouen, David du Petit-Val, 1626 (*priv.*, June 26) ; Marburg, 1884 (Stengel's edition).

VI. *Timoclée*, *Lucrèce*, *Alcméon* (tragedies), *Elmire*, *La Belle Egyptienne* (tragi-comedies), *L'Amour victorieux ou vengé* (pastoral), Paris, Targa, 1628 (*priv.*, July 24) ; Marburg, 1884 (Stengel's edition).

VII. *Folie de Turlupin*, *Pandoste* (2 journées), *Ozmin*, *Cintie*, *Leucosie*, *Folie de Clidamant*, *Folie d'Ysabelle*, *Parténie* (2 journées), *Inceste supposé*, *Frère indiscret*. These are mentioned in the *Mémoire de Mahelot* ⁵.

It is extremely difficult to determine when these plays were first acted. The frères Parfaict try to solve the problem by distributing the extant plays almost evenly over the period of Hardy's supposed activity, but Rigal has shown the utter absurdity of this method ⁶. There is no evidence that Hardy intended to publish all of his plays and consequently began at the beginning, as Corneille did some years later. He probably did not select for publication those that he had written in the preceding eighteen months, for that would

(1) Dr. E. H. Sirich of the University of Minnesota is preparing a critical edition of this play, which Stengel failed to republish with Hardy's other pieces.

(2) Called *Sidère* in the *privilege*.

(3) Called *le Jugement d'amour* in the *privilege*.

(4) M. Roy, *R. H. L.*, XXII (1915), 502, calls attention to the existence of a manuscript copy of this play at Chantilly, n° 697. I have recently acquired one of *Phraarte* in a seventeenth century hand and a more modern one of *Cornélie*.

(5) In Hardy's pamphlet, mentioned above, he threatens to dramatize the subjects of Du Ryer's *Arétaphile* and Anvray's *Madonte*, but there is no evidence that he ever carried out his purpose.

(6) *Op. cit.*, pp. 73-82. Nevertheless one often finds these dates kept even in recent books.

have enabled a rival troupe to present the plays as well as the actors for whom he was writing, but, with the exception of plays of this kind, he probably chose those pieces that he thought the public would most appreciate, which would consequently not be his earliest productions. He wished also to publish plays belonging to various genres, as the presence of a single pastoral in each of his five volumes of collected plays indicates. Hardy tells us, moreover, that *Corine* had been written for over twelve years when it was published in 1626. Rigal showed that *Elmire* was not written earlier than 1610, *la Force du sang* and *la Belle Egyptienne* than 1615, *Dorise* than 1619, *Frégonde* than 1621, for it was in those years that the books were printed on which their plots were based. It is significant that none of these five tragi-comedies was written so early as the reign of Henri IV. The unpublished plays mentioned by Mahelot were probably written late in the dramatist's career. These conclusions seem reasonably certain. Can we be more definite?

Théagène et Cariclée is referred to in the edition of 1623 as one of the first-fruits of Hardy's Muse, written during the "bouillons de sa jeunesse". Rigal concludes from this statement that the play was one of his earliest works and places it between 1593 and 1601. But, in order to do so, he rejects evidence furnished by Hardy in the same volume when he remarks that he had written 500 plays in all and two hundred since composing *Théagène et Cariclée*. There is here an obvious contradiction, for, if the latter statement is true, the play could not have been composed much earlier than 1612. Rigal argues that the number 200 was written at random, while Hardy refers four times to *Théagène* as a work of his youth. But can we believe authors in the early seventeenth century when they talk about their youth? Is it not a conventional way of forestalling criticism? Mairet, in dedicating his *Sylvie* in 1628, the second of the only two plays he had written, calls it the first-fruits of his Muse. It is a well established fact that he subsequently pretended to have written his plays when five years younger than he really was. In 1625 Racan refers to his *Bergeries* as a "folie de ma jeunesse", although he had composed it only about five years before, when he was thirty-one. Finally Hardy himself declares that the plays of his second volume are "six fleurs viellies depuis le temps d'une jeunesse qui me les a produites", although one of the six was certainly composed after 1614, when he must have been not far from forty. We are not then justified in giving a very early date to *Théagène*. The majority of the plays of the first two volumes that followed in 1624 and 1625 were probably old, but it seems unlikely that

they really date from his youth. It is more probable that they were not composed before 1605, although I am unable to prove it.

Internal evidence helps us little. I have tried to reach conclusions by studying versification, grammatical usage¹, and technique, but the results prove little. M. Lanson suggests² that the lyric chorus marks the earlier plays, but, while this is doubtless true, a play may be early, though it has no chorus, for Hardy tells us that, except in the case of *Didon*, he omitted choruses from the plays of volume I as "superflus à la représentation, et de trop de fatigue à refondre". As the plays of Hardy mentioned by Mahelot are almost all tragi-comedies, it is reasonable to suppose that his tendency was away from tragedy in the direction of the less regular genre. This would mean that the tragedies are in the main older than the tragi-comedies. I conclude from this evidence, such as it is, that the most probable dates of first performance are those indicated below, although I admit that these dates are by no means established with certainty :

1605-1615. *Didon*, *Scédase*, *Panthée*, *Méléagre*, *Mort d'Achille*, *Coriolan*, *Mariamne*, *Mort de Daire*, *Mort d'Alexandre*, *Timoclée*, *Proserpine*, *Gigantomachie*, *Arsacome*, *Aristoclée*, *Alcée*, *Théagène et Cariclée* (about 1612 ?), *Corine* (about 1613).

1610-1620. *Renaut*, *Procris*, *Alceste*, *Ariadne*, *Gésippe*, *Phraarte*, *Alphée*, *Triomphe d'amour*.

1615-1625. *Alcméon*, *Lucrèce*, *Félistmène*, *Cornélie*, *Force du sang*, *Elmire*, *Amour victorieux*.

1620-1625. *Frégonde*, *Dorise*, *Belle Egyptienne*.

1625-1631. Ten unpublished plays mentioned by Mahelot.

The plays will now be studied according to their different genres. The "poèmes dramatiques" and those that are called both tragedies and tragi-comedies by their author are classified with the latter type of play.

III. — Tragedy

Most of Hardy's tragedies represent, as M. Lanson has shown³, a reaction both against the purely rhetorical type of tragedy, devoid of action, and the irregular tragedy⁴. He believed in the imitation

(1) Dr. Sirich made a detailed grammatical comparison of *Théagène* and *Frégonde*, but could find no substantial difference between the two plays.

(2) *Esquisse*, p. 43.

(3) *Op. cit.*, pp. 42-46.

(4) Cf. Rigal, *op. cit.*, for the analysis and sources of these plays. His literary judgment is sometimes warped by his partiality for Hardy.

of the ancients and of Garnier ¹, but he also had the desire of a practical dramatist to amuse his audience. Hence, while he is no more dramatic than the authors of certain less regular tragedies, he strives more than they do to breathe new life into the type of tragedy that is based on classical sources. Of his twelve tragedies eight are derived from ancient historians, chiefly from Plutarch ², but also from Quintus Curtius, Josephus, Xenophon, and, if I may include them here, Dares and Dictys. One came from Vergil, one from Ovid, and a third, *Alcméon*, dramatizes a story briefly told by Pausanias ³ with borrowings from Euripides or Seneca. He gets some suggestions from Jodelle for his *Didon* and from Jacques de la Taille for his *Mort de Daire* and *Mort d'Alexandre* ⁴. He uses, in general, the same kind of source as these dramatists and Montchrestien had used, except that he avoids the Bible, though he bases one play on Jewish history, and derives one play, as far as we can judge, from modern fiction.

It will be noticed that none of his tragedies show any influence, so far as has been determined, of Italian or Spanish literature. The influence of English literature remains to be discussed. Some of the themes he treated were also popular in England, notably that of Coriolanus. His lost play, *Pandoste*, probably a tragi-comedy, is based on a translation of an English novel, as we shall see, but there is no evidence that either play derived any suggestions from Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* or from *Winter's Tale*. The closest resemblance to Shakespeare is found in *La Mort d'Achille*, one scene of which

(1) In addition to the evidence submitted by Rigal, cf. Hardy's statements in his pamphlet quoted above.

(2) For *Coriolan* he used either the Latin text or the translation of Guillaume de Selve, for Amyot, like most of the Latin translators of Plutarch, writes the name of Coriolanus's host Aufidie, in which he was followed by North and Shakespeare, while Hardy and de Selve write it Amphidie, as Chapoton was to do subsequently. I find the form Amphidius in a Latin translation of Plutarch, published with the Greek text at Venice in 1491.

(3) VIII, 24, 4. Rigal gives as his sources Apollonius and Pausanias with additions from the *Medea* and *Hercules furens* of Euripides, but, while most of his incidents, indeed, come from Pausanias, he owes nothing to Apollonius, who differs both from Pausanias and from Hardy in the names of the hero's first wife and of her brothers as well as in other details. The fact that Alcméon was told by his father to kill his mother and that he subsequently went mad, which is not given by Pausanias, may come from Diodorus Siculus, IV, 65, 6. The poisoning of the necklace by Alphésibée in order to drive her husband mad seems suggested by *Medea*, as well as her causing the death of her children, but the manner of their death at the hands of their crazed father comes rather from *Hercules furens*. It is not clear whether it is the two plays of Euripides that Hardy imitated or those of the same name by Seneca, for the suggestions could have come equally well from either author. Seneca, though not mentioned by Rigal, would seem a more probable source except that Hardy used Euripides for his *Alceste*.

(4) Cf. K. Meier, *Ueber die Dido Tragödien des Jodelle, Hardy und Scudéry*, Zwickau, 1891, and Rigal, *op. cit.*

is remarkably like the last scene of *Henry V*. In both plays a victorious commander, who has crossed the sea and invaded a neighboring country, seeks to win the hand of the defeated king's daughter and tells her that he does not know the art of making love, but that he is a friend of her people and that their projected marriage would promote the interests of both countries. When she replies that she must leave such matters to her father, he assures her of the latter's consent. When she protests that they are no longer on an equality, he asks for a kiss, and when he learns that kissing is forbidden by a law of the land, he assures her that he is above such a law. But, despite these striking resemblances, I am not sure that Hardy knew Shakespeare, for there is similarity neither between the proper names nor the words of the dialogue. It is, however, possible that *Henry V*, which contains a good deal of French, was acted in Hardy's presence by English players who visited France in 1598 and 1604¹.

Most of the tragedies are concerned with the pathetic fate of distinguished persons. *Didon* treats the familiar theme of the queen's desertion by Æneas and her suicide; *Panthée*, that of the heroine's winning her husband over to fight for Cyrus, her magnanimous captor, and her suicide after her husband has fallen in battle as a result of following her counsel; *Méléagre*, the story of the boar-hunt, the hero's murder of his uncles, and his own death, caused by his mother's vengeful burning of the brand with which his destiny is bound up; *la Mort d'Achille*, the luring of the warrior to his death by means of Polyxena's promise to marry him; *Mariamne*, the condemnation and execution of the Jewish princess by her husband, who is torn between love of his wife and desire to avenge himself upon her; *Timoclée*², *la Mort de Daire*³, *la Mort d'Alexandre*⁴, three episodes from Alexander's career in Greece and in Asia. The other three tragedies deal with persons that are less well known. *Alcméon* recounts the terrible vengeance of a wife for her husband's infidelity. She drives him mad, causes him to kill their children and to be killed by her brothers, who are in turn slain by him. *Scédase* is equally brutal, a sort of *tragédie bourgeoise* derived from Plutarch's account of the rape and murder of two girls by their father's guests, his vain

(1) For a more detailed discussion of the subject cf. my article in the volume shortly to appear in memory of Professor H. A. Todd.

(2) Acts I and II are chiefly concerned with the question whether Athens will help Thebes against Alexander or preserve its neutrality; III and IV with the capture of Thebes; V with the vengeance wreaked by the widow, Timoclea, upon the man who has raped her and her pardon by Alexander.

(3) The battle of Arbela, the death of Darius, Alexander's promise to avenge him, and the lamentations of the queen mother.

(4) The circumstances leading up to the poisoning and death of Alexander.

efforts to get revenge, and his suicide. *Lucrèce* has nothing to do with Livy's heroine or with any character so chaste. It is a melodrama of unknown source, a sort of tragi-comedy of infidelity and vengeance with an unhappy ending ¹.

Hardy's themes are not altogether confined to the fate of individuals. Larger issues are sometimes suggested, the decadence of Sparta in *Scédase*, the clash of Greek and Oriental civilizations in the Alexander trilogy, the founding of Rome in *Didon*, but such subjects are not properly emphasized. Hardy cannot be called, like Corneille, a political dramatist. The gods are excluded from all of his tragedies except *Didon*. Though fate is occasionally mentioned, his characters usually work out their own destiny. Panthée, Mariamne, and Alphésibée are Cornelian heroines, the latter a forerunner of Médée. While the atmosphere of most of the plays is aristocratic, other classes are not excluded. *Scédase* is concerned with the fate of simple people. The Roman mob and their tribune take part in *Coriolan*. The victim is usually partly guilty, — Dido of violating her vow, Panthée of abandoning her country's interests, Alexander of cruelty towards Thebes — but is punished more than he deserves. In *Scédase* the disaster is due to the victims' error, not to their guilt. Interest is often divided between the victim and the persecutor — *Didon*, *Scédase*, *Alcméon*, *Daire* — and often shifts from one to the other, so that the persecutor holds the stage during one half of the play, his victim during the other. In some tragedies one character is emphasized at the expense of the others.

The characters, even the victims, are ordinarily active. In *Alcméon* the clash of wills is as strong as in Corneille's *Médée* or the *Cid*, but it is only occasionally psychological in the sense that the conflict is an internal one. Opportunities for such struggles within the mind of an important character are neglected in such plays as *Méléagre*, *Coriolan*, *Achille*, and *Alcméon*. Only in *Didon* and *Mariamne* is the inner struggle properly developed. As these were both probably old plays, Hardy does not seem to have realized the importance of such a struggle enough to retain it in later tragedies.

(1) As Rigal abstains from analyzing it, as too horrible for his taste, I give here a brief account of the plot. *Lucrèce*, wife of Télémaque, loves Myrhène and admits him to her chamber while her nurse plays sentinel. Télémaque is awakened by his rival's falling from a ladder as he leaves the room, but he is induced to believe that the disturbance was caused by robbers. Myrhène's friend, Everard, tries to find him a wife in order to sober him, but Myrhène finds fault with each of the girls he suggests. Eryphile, abandoned by Myrhène and courted by Télémaque, reveals to the latter his wife's unfaithfulness in the hope that he will kill her and that Myrhène will then return to his old love. Télémaque goes home and hides. When his wife and her lover approach the bed, he kills them and is killed in turn by Everard, while a page goes for the police.

Moreover, we have already seen that other writers had also introduced the soul-struggle into their plays. But Hardy's contribution to the vogue of these conflicts, which were to acquire great importance in the time of Corneille, is not to be neglected, for his two tragedies in which the inner struggle is emphasized were imitated by two leading dramatists of the next generation. His *Didon* and his *Mariamne* in the new form given them by Scudéry and Tristan did much to establish the classical system, in which the inner struggle is an important element.

The scarcity of actresses may have prevented women's rôles from acquiring the importance of men's in most of Hardy's tragedies. Only in *Panthée* does a woman attract our attention far more than the men with whom she is associated. Only in *Lucrèce* and *Alcméon*, probably his last two tragedies, do we find two women that are rivals. There are, indeed, never more than two young women in a tragedy except in *Daire*, in the last scene of which there is a troupe of girls. But only two of them speak and all of them could easily be omitted, for they appear in a sort of epilogue. Their parts were probably taken by supernumeraries when such persons could be conveniently found. The female attendant is regularly an elderly *nourrice*, a rôle taken by a man.

The small number of actresses does not, however, prevent sexual love from being an important element, the most important, in fact, in these tragedies, though in *Daire* and *Coriolan* it is completely lacking and in *Alexandre* it is of very minor significance. Love ranges from the blind and jealous passion of *Alcméon* or the brutal desire displayed in *Timoclée* to the noble emotion of *Panthée*. Important also is love for other members of a family, maternal or paternal affection, love for mother or brothers, and friendship. Ambition is especially emphasized in those plays where sexual love counts for little. Desire for revenge, patriotism, admiration, and fear also figure. Religious feeling is practically absent except in *Didon* and *Méléagre*. The point of honor plays no part. Most of the victims arouse our pity. Aristotelian terror is attained chiefly by a vision that Hardy occasionally gives of the limitations of human fortune even in the case of the great and the uncertainty of happiness. But he does not sufficiently bring out the tragic element in his plays, even in such essentially tragic themes as those of *Coriolanus* and *Alexander*.

Hardy is quite superior to Garnier in the fact that he brings together, as a rule, persons that should be thus presented, while the older writer had kept apart until the last act the hero and heroine of

Bradamante, usually considered his most dramatic play. Yet Hardy is not above reproach, for the lovers meet only once in *Didon* and in *Achille*. In *Daire* Alexander comes into his enemy's presence only after his death. In some plays Hardy crowds his canvas, especially in *Coriolan* and *Scédase*. Minor persons are often not differentiated, the girls in *Scédase*, the uncles and the hunters in *Méléagre*. Mute rôles are to be found, that of the wife in *Coriolan* and of the children in that play and in *Alcméon*. Certain characteristically sixteenth century personages, inherited from ancient writers, are retained. The *nourrice* has been mentioned. The nameless messenger and the ghost are not infrequent. The latter is always found at the beginning of the tragedy in which it appears, following d'Aigaliers's rule, except that in *Timoclée* one is introduced at the commencement of the third act, at which point the episode begins from which the play takes its name. The chorus is of varying importance. In *Didon* and *Timoclée* it is written in lyric strophes and occurs, according to ancient usage, at the end of each act but the last. In *Daire*, *Alexandre*, *Scédase*, and *Méléagre* the chorus, still lyric, makes but one speech. In these last plays, with the exception of *Scédase*, another form of chorus appears, speaking only in alexandrines and really the equivalent of a group of persons who take part in the play. A chorus of the latter type is the only kind admitted into *Achille* and *Coriolan*. Other tragedies show no chorus of any kind. The history of the chorus in French plays is consequently epitomized in Hardy's tragedies.

Characters that seem to be predecessors rather than inheritors of an old tradition are the *raisonneur* of *Lucrèce* and strong-willed or noble-minded persons that suggest Corneille. Alphésibée is a forerunner of Médée and of Rodogune, while Cyrus's generous treatment of Panthée and its effect upon her suggest Auguste and Emilie. Much of Hardy's characterization is, however, very superficial and crude. It is difficult with so ponderous a dialogue to show much delicacy in the delineation of character. Yet a few interesting persons stand out, the highly dramatic figure of Herod, in whose soul passion for the proud princess he has married struggles with jealousy and thwarted desire, Mariamne herself, and the pathetic Darius.

Like his sixteenth century predecessors Hardy uses dreams and omens and has their value discussed, introduces scenes in which important persons take counsel of two friends, trial scenes, disguises, overheard conversations, and madness. Although he has no scruples about selecting his material and showing murder on the stage, he

sometimes follows the sixteenth century preference for the rhetorical rather than the spectacular, omitting, for example, the banqueting scene at which Alexander was poisoned, just as Racine was, for other reasons, to keep his audience from witnessing the death of Britannicus. But this does not mean that Hardy excludes the spectacular, for especially in the Alexander trilogy there is much that appeals to the eye. The strict rules of propriety subsequently observed had not yet been established. Fighting and killing are seen on the stage. The text of *Scédase* would lead us to suppose that the rape, as well as the murder, of the girls takes place before the eyes of the audience. Words and situations that would have shocked subsequent theatergoers are not unusual. Yet the coarseness of Hardy's tragedies has been exaggerated. There is nothing in *Didon*, *Panthée*, or *Daire* to offend the most delicate sensibilities. The plays in which his brutality exceeds that of Shakespeare, for instance, are very few. A certain force is gained by his freedom from later distinctions in vocabulary. Coriolanus can address his mother as "mère" instead of the formal "madame" we meet in Corneille and Racine. Certain expressions the latter would have considered trivial appeal to us by reason of their picturesque or homely qualities. For instance, Alcméon's greeting to his wife on his return home resembles that of Arnolphe in the *Ecole des femmes* rather than that of Theseus in *Phèdre*. Darius asks for a drink of water when he is dying. Persons of the middle and lower classes are not excluded, nor is the comic element absent, for it is found in *Méléagre* (II, 2) and in *Achille* (IV, 2).

Hardy shows little interest in manners and customs. He follows his sources, reproducing customs found in them, but often modifying them in accordance with the uses of his own day. Hunting is made important, especially in *Méléagre*, and his interest in it is shown by his frequent use of comparisons drawn from the chase. Law is discussed in *Scédase*. In *Panthée* and in *Daire* reference is made to the worship of the sun by the Persians. But they seem to worship Jupiter as well. In other plays one can find similar confusions. The fighting in *Timoclée* is that of the seventeenth century rather than of Alexander's day, as shown by these lines from the fourth act :

Lance des feux par tout à la faueur du vent,
Embrase les maisons premieres opposees
Avec ces pots à feu, ces cercles, ces fusees,
Moyen de diuertir le bourgeois de l'assaut.

Hardy observes the unities only accidentally. *Mariamne* requires only a few hours ; *Didon* and possibly *Alcméon* and *la Mort*

d'Alexandre, not more than twenty-four. But all the others violate the rule and some of them cover a month or more. The scene of *Mariamne* is laid in a palace and a prison, that of *Panthée* in two tents and a place not far away from them. *Didon*, *Lucrèce*, and *Alcméon* have the unity of a city. *Achille* and *la Mort d'Alexandre* represent a city and a space just outside. But in *Coriolan*, *Scédase*, *la Mort de Daire*, and *Timoclée* localities are represented that are separated from one another by many miles. It should be noted, however, that he never allows himself so much freedom in tragedy with respect to space and time as he does in tragi-comedy. His attitude towards the unity of action is somewhat similar. The Alexander trilogy could have been unified if Hardy had been careful to connect the destruction of Thebes with the hero's death, but he makes little effort in this direction. *Timoclée* consists of three almost independent plots. *La Mort d'Alexandre* continues for almost two acts after the dénouement. Similarly *Méléagre* combines two themes, the boar hunt and the dispute over the animal's head, while the mother's rôle is that of a *deus ex machina*. Other plays have, however, real unity, though not so much as the classical rules require. In *Didon*, *Scédase*, *Achille*, *Coriolan* the unity of action is violated chiefly by an episodic scene or an epilogue. In none of the plays is there a strict observance of the later rule that all persons of any importance must be present or mentioned in the first act and in all of them some scenes are developed beyond the strict requirements of the plot. With the exception of slight violations of this sort, *Panthée*, *Mariamne*, *Alcméon*, and *Lucrèce* preserve the unity of action and the first three almost attain the concentration of later classical tragedies, though Corneille might have objected to the fact that the death of *Panthée*'s husband is due to the chance of battle. And this real, though not formal unity is obtained without making the tragedy what Jodelle had made it, comment upon action that takes place off the stage.

Hardy's tragedies almost always begin with a monologue addressed to the gods or spoken by one of them or a ghost. Tirades are not infrequent. Stichomythia and other forms of too regular dialogue are employed. The scenes are often too short for the proper development of dramatic situations and the study of character, but ordinarily the action progresses, with preparation and suspense, and there is a definite *nœud* and dénouement. The material is not always well distributed among the acts. The sixteenth century custom of limiting the interlocutors to three is observed only in *Didon* and *Panthée*. The tragedies, like his other plays, are all

divided into five acts. New scenes are not always indicated when a person leaves or enters the stage. In several plays the scene divisions are indicated, but not in the usual manner.

IV. — Tragi-comedy

Hardy's achievement in this genre is, perhaps, even more important than in tragedy, for, whereas before his death tragedy had almost ceased to be written and had to be recreated largely under other influences, he established tragi-comedy as an extremely popular genre and determined more than anyone else its characteristics. I include among tragi-comedies his three "poèmes dramatiques", *Théagène et Cariclée*, *le Ravissement de Proserpine*, and *la Gigantomachie*, and four plays called tragi-comedies on their title-pages, though the term tragedy is used elsewhere in connection with them, *Procris*, *Ariadne*, *Alceste*, and *Aristoclée*. It is probable that the lost plays of which the titles are known were, with one exception, tragi-comedies.

For his sources he abandons history, which he used for most of his tragedies, and turns to fiction, either ancient or modern. Only one tragi-comedy, *Alceste*, is derived from an ancient tragedy, the *Alcestis* of Euripides. When he makes use of Plutarch, it is either the life of a legendary hero, Theseus¹, that he selects (*Ariadne*) or his collection of tales called *Amatoria narraciones* (*Aristoclée*). His other ancient sources are Ovid (*Procris*, *Ariadne*), Lucian (*Arsacome*), Claudian (*Gigantomachie*, *Proserpine*), and Heliodorus (*Théagène et Cariclée*). Among modern writers he prefers Spaniards and dramatizes stories of Cervantes (*Cornélie*, *Force du sang*, *Belle Egyptienne*), Diego de Agreda (*Frégonde*), and Montemayor (*Félimène*). The latter author had already been used in pastoral plays, but otherwise Spanish literature had been practically ignored by French dramatists. It should be noticed, however, that Hardy makes no use of Spanish plays. He derives plots from other modern tales as well as from Spanish, those of Boccaccio (*Gésippe*), Cinthio (*Phraarte*), Hondorff² (*Elmire*), and de Rosset (*Dorise*).

Théagène et Cariclée recounts in 40 acts, grouped in 8 *journées*, the story of the lovers' wanderings and adventures about as Heliodorus

(1) Rigal, who is to be consulted for Hardy's sources, overlooks Plutarch's *Life of Theseus*, which contains much more of the material used by Hardy than Ovid does.

(2) Rigal, *op. cit.*, pp. 239, 240, shows that the story on which *Elmire* is based is from Hondorff's *Theatrum exemplorum*, not, as Hardy asserts, from Camerarius.

relates them and their final union at the court of the heroine's father¹. In *Alceste* Hardy adds to Euripides's simple narrative of the heroine's death for her husband and her rescue by Hercules an account of the latter's visit to Hades. *Ariadne ravie* relates the flight of Theseus with the two daughters of Minos, his abandonment of Ariadne for Phaedra², and the former's marriage to Bacchus. *Procris* gives the pathetic story of the heroine's losing her husband's affections when Aurora woos him and of her death at his hands. *La Gigantomachie* recounts the attack of the giants upon Olympus, their defeat and swift retirement. The *Ravissement de Proserpine par Pluton* describes not only the event referred to in the title, but the decision of the gods as to the future life of the heroine. *Aristoclée* is really a tragedy of humble life in which a girl prefers for husband a man of her own class rather than a noble suitor and the latter avenges himself by an attack upon the wedding party in which the heroine is slain. Only in this play and in *Procris* is the ending unhappy. They were probably written before Hardy had finally accepted what was to be the almost universal rule that a tragi-comedy must end well.

The remaining plays are typical of the genre as it was understood by Hardy's successors. In *Félicie* the heroine follows her fickle lover from Spain to Germany, becomes his page, wins the affection of his new lady, and finally, after her rival's death, recovers his love by rescuing him from his enemies. *Cornélie* describes the adventures of an unmarried mother, befriended by two Spanish knights and a hermit and finally married to her lover. In *la Force du sang* a girl who has been raped and has given birth to a child is married, seven years later, to the man, now repentant, whose victim she has been. In *la Belle Egyptienne* a young man joins a band of gipsies for love of a girl, but the latter turns out to be, not a gipsy, but the daughter of prominent people, to whom she is restored and who consent to her marriage to her lover. *Frégonde* tells of a couple who, in financial straits, have recourse to the man who, unknown to the husband, had sought to seduce the wife. His generosity now wins the woman's love, but, in the meantime, the lover has succeeded in controlling his passion, so that the intervention of the Turks and the husband's death in battle are needed in order to bring about her marriage to her benefactor. The plot of *Dorise* has been compared with that of Corneille's *Mélite*. It is the story of two pairs of lovers

(1) For detailed analyses of this and the other tragi-comedies cf. Rigal, *op. cit.*, and my *French Tragi-comedy*.

(2) For this non-classical motif cf. below, p. 255.

and the hero's transferring his love from one girl to the other. *Phraarte* relates the seduction of a princess by a neighboring prince, her expulsion from the palace, recognition by her lover at the end of a war between the two countries, and their marriage. *Elmire* narrates the strange adventure of the Count of Gleichen, rescued from prison by the Sultan's daughter, allowed by the pope to marry her without divorcing his wife, and happily established again in Germany with his two wives. Finally there are two that are especially concerned with friendship, *Arsacome*, in which a suitor is rejected because his only wealth consists of two friends, who proceed to justify his estimate of their value by killing the girl's mercenary father and marrying her to Arsacome, and *Gésippe*, the story of a man who gives his fiancée to his friend and whose life the friend saves long afterwards.

The main interest in these plays lies in the plot rather than in the ideas expressed or in the study of character. Historical persons are eliminated and with them the discussion of political and philosophical questions. The leading persons are usually aristocratic, but of noble rather than of royal birth. Exceptions occur, however, for *Aristoclée* and *Procris* include among their leading characters persons of humble birth, while the lovers in *Phraarte* are the children of kings. Among minor characters that are not noble may be mentioned the shepherds of *Félimène*, the robbers of *Gésippe*, the peasants of *Proserpine*, and the surgeon of *la Force du sang*.

The young lovers hold the center of the stage in the majority of cases. In the plays derived from Cervantes the rôle of the parents is important. Maternal love is emphasized in these plays and in *Théagène*. Children are introduced into two of the plays based on Spanish stories and a "garçon égyptien" into a third. Hardy goes farther than his model in developing the rôle of a child by giving six lines to the six year old boy of *la Force du sang*. He introduces an infant into *Phraarte*, the source of which is not Spanish.

Hardy's characters are drawn somewhat superficially. Rigal has pointed out the fact that he failed to treat with delicacy or understanding the difficult, yet dramatically interesting subject of *Frégonde*, in which the heroine passes from fear of the marquis to love of him, the marquis from a desire to seduce her to a respectful attitude, due in part to his friendship for her husband. He sometimes shows a certain discernment, for in *la Force du sang* he accounts for the hero's change of heart in a way that Cervantes had not done and in *Elmire* he explains at considerable length the peculiar characters of the lovers that make possible "l'heureuse bigamie". But

these cases are exceptional. The characters are usually treated conventionally and Hardy's efforts are concentrated upon creating interesting situations rather than explaining them. The psychological struggle is not found except in *Théagène et Cariclée* (4 j., I, 2; 7 j., II, 2; 8 j., IV), *Procris* (IV, 1), *Ariadne* (II), *la Belle Egyptienne* (II, 2; IV, 1), though it might easily be introduced elsewhere. Although the tragi-comedies are essentially romantic, the villain is lacking in most of them. The only complete examples are found in *Théagène* and in *Aristoclée*. Characters that are much alike are differentiated in the case of the two robbers of *Gésippe*, but this cannot be said of the hero's friends in *Arsacome* and the *Force du sang*. The classical messenger and ghost, common in Hardy's tragedies, are found only in *Théagène*, *Arsacome*, and *Frégonde*, the lyric chorus only in *Arsacome*, though a "chœur", or troupe, is not infrequent, meaning no more than a Shakespearian mob. Most of the rôles are those of men and, as men also took the parts of old women, the majority of the tragi-comedies could be acted with only two actresses, but in *Félistène* there are four young women, in *Cornélie* three, for the *nourrice* in the latter play is not, as she usually is, an aged woman, but one employed to suckle an infant. The scarcity of women doubtless hindered the growth of the subordinate love plot, but it did not prevent the introduction of the young female attendant, subsequently to be called the "sui-vante", for we find one in *Arsacome* (I, 1; II, 2), where she is designated in a serious passage as a "nymphé jolie".

There is little effort to paint manners and customs. In *la Belle Egyptienne* there was an excellent opportunity to do so, for it is the ways of the gipsies that constitute the principal object of Cervantes's art in the source. Hardy does not, indeed, neglect them as much as Rigal asserts, for he makes use of their fortune-telling, fondness for money, nomadic life, marital fidelity, knowledge of singing and of medicine. These are, however, subordinated to interest in the plot and far less emphasized than in the original. In *Cornélie* we learn that it was customary to put honey on the palate of a new-born infant. In *Arsacome* a Scythian sits on the hide of an ox when he appeals to his friends for vengeance. Hunting and agriculture are discussed in *Procris*, law in *Ariadne*. A banquet is described in *la Gigantomachie*. Patriotic references are found in *Cornélie* (II, 1):

Onques ces Paladins, que la Gaule féconde
Feit jadis renommer aux quatre coins du monde...

and in *la Force du sang* (II, 3): *

La Gaule se presente en peuples plus feconde
 Que l'Espagne beaucoup : qui semble vn autre monde,
 Peuples ciuilesez, conuersables, courtois
 Qui n'ont rien d'arrogant comme nos Iberoïs
 Qui ayment vne humeur ouuerte et familiere,
 Non la nostre de soy cauteleuse et altiere.

Reference is made to God and the Church in *Cornélie* (V, 3) ; a pious hermit appears in *Dorise* as well as in this scene. In *Elmire* the death of Christ is mentioned and the pope plays an essential, though absent rôle. In *la Force du sang*, however, a statue of Hercules is substituted for a crucifix with some loss of effectiveness. A certain historical and geographical ignorance is shown. The unwillingness to fight a duel with an inferior that is found in *Aristoclée* is obviously inspired by seventeenth century manners, as is the talk of taking the veil in the same play. At the end of *Arsacome* the existence of the Black Sea seems to be ignored. In *la Belle Egyptienne* a Mohammedan makes reference to Mars.

The proprieties are less well observed than in the majority of the tragedies. With the exception of *Frégonde* there are few of the tragi-comedies that would not have offended later writers by their vulgarity of language or situation. Killing on the stage is not infrequent. The attitude of the author is amoral. He does not sympathize with the hero of *la Force du sang*, but everyone seems delighted when his brutal rape of the heroine is punished only by his marriage to her. Similarly in *Phraarte*, Cotys, who attempts to poison a neighboring king and to murder his own daughter, ends the play as a "personnage sympathique". The treachery and fickleness of the characters in *Dorise* meet with little reprobation. This attitude is distinctly different from that of most writers of tragedy and tragi-comedy in the following generation. Corneille does not always reward the virtuous and punish the evil, but we have no doubt about his opinion of their conduct. Not so with Hardy, who covers up seduction, violation of oaths, rape, and bigamy with his charitable mantle.

The tragi-comedies are less unified than the tragedies. The time represented may cover several months, seven years in the case of *la Force du sang*. In *Cornélie* the action takes place in a city and a wood near by, but in others more than one country is represented. In *Elmire* we pass from Egypt to Italy and then to Germany, while *la Gigantomachie* and *Proserpine* include Heaven and Hades as well as the earth. The action is unified in *Arsacome*, *Aristoclée*, and *Phraarte*, though not as in classical French tragedies, for there are

developments that could be avoided and new persons are introduced late in the plays. In other tragi-comedies there are *hors-d'œuvre*. In *Frégonde* the dénouement is brought about by the Turks, who are employed much too late. *Gésippe* is really two plays connected by the presence in each of the two friends and the fact that in each they give proof of their devotion. *Procris* and *Ariadne* are somewhat similarly constructed.

Less than in Hardy's tragedies does the structure resemble that of sixteenth century plays. The opening monologue is still found, but in several plays a dialogue is substituted for it. Only in *Proserpine* is there a prologue. In *Frégonde* the opportuneness of the entrances and exits is quite absurd. The third act of *Aristoclée* and the fourth of *Ariadne* contain but a single scene. In the former play the lovers do not meet upon the stage till the last act, but this is quite exceptional. *Procris* is the only tragi-comedy in which the rule of three interlocutors is observed. Cases of preparation are frequent. A good example is in *la Force du sang*, where Hardy shows us that the hero is penitent before his return to Spain, as Cervantes fails to do. Another example is found in *Alceste*, where the mission of Hercules is made known in the first act. Hardy has also learned the art of suspense and of creating dramatic situations.

His devices are, however, often improbable or conventional. As Rigal points out, the reader is at a loss to understand how the heroine of *la Force du sang* recognizes a room in which she had spent the night in darkness seven years before¹. How is it that Cotys in *Phraarte* fails to notice his daughter's pregnancy? Magic is employed in *Dorise*. The rôle of chance is very large, especially in meetings and resemblances. The *cri du sang* is heard in the plays derived from Cervantes. *Reconnaissance*, omens, dreams, trials are found, though less frequently than in tragedy. A disguised and warlike woman is the heroine of *Félistène*. In *Gésippe* there is a combat in generosity and the hero is married to a woman introduced only at the end of the play as a sort of consolation prize. These romantic devices are accompanied by a good deal that is spectacular, especially in *Proserpine* and *la Gigantomachie*, plays that Rigal compares to operas without music, and by a good deal that is comic, though the

(1) Rigal explains that Hardy's reason for not following Cervantes was that he had too little space in the compartment on his stage for a window, but surely a window takes up too little room to justify this explanation and it would have been easy to have supposed that there was enough light in the room in the morning to allow her to recognize the objects. It is rather Hardy's carelessness than the crowded arrangement of the stage that caused the difficulty.

latter element is never important. A good example is furnished by the scene of the *courtisane* in *Cornélie*, a pure *hors-d'œuvre*.

Hardy's tragi-comedies are chiefly important for firmly establishing that genre in France, for determining its general characteristics, and for introducing through it a greater variety of dramatic action into tragedy. Few of the tragi-comedies written between 1595 and 1625 other than his possess the characteristics the genre was ultimately to assume, that of a play with a romantic plot derived from a piece of fiction, showing the dramatic qualities of preparation, suspense, and progress towards a definite *dénouement*, but admitting episodes freely, making more of incident than of character, allowing various classes of people, a small amount of comedy, and ending in the happiness of the main characters. It was doubtless the success of Hardy's tragi-comedies that induced Mairet to undertake in 1625 a play of the same kind and was largely responsible for the great interest shown in the genre by the generation of dramatists who began to write after 1627. Some of these younger writers even make good use of situations that had already been displayed in Hardy's productions, for the situation in *Phraarte* of a king beleaguered in his last city was to be reproduced in Mairet's *Virginie*, Du Ryer's *Cléomédon*, and La Calprenède's *Mort de Mithridate*. *Aristoclée* gives us two attitudes towards fighting that are not unlike those described by Corneille in *Horace* and the ghost in *Frégonde* gives his wife to his rival as Polyeucte proposes that after his death Pauline shall wed Sévère.

V. — Pastoral

Hardy published one pastoral in each of the five volumes of his collected plays. Whether he wrote others is not known, but it is quite likely that one of the lost plays mentioned by Mahelot was a pastoral. Those that have been preserved have been studied by Rigal¹ and especially by Marsan². The latter finds that two of them, *Alcée* and *Corine*, are relatively simple and are imitations in a general way of Tasso's *Aminta*. In the other three, which are much more complex and were probably written later, *Alphée*, *l'Amour victorieux*, and *le Triomphe d'amour*, he distinguishes the influence, not only of Tasso and Guarini, but of the *Diana* of Montemayor and the earlier French pastorals, especially those of Montreux. In

(1) *Op. cit.*, pp. 504-541.

(2) *Op. cit.*, pp. 237-265.

Corine a young man, indifferent to love, promises to respond to the affections of the girl who will keep silent longest, but is finally brought to accept the hand of one of his victims by the intervention of Venus and Cupid. Among the characters are included a second shepherd, who rescues his mistress from a satyr, and a sorceress, who turns the latter into a tree. In *Alcée Démocle*, sheltered by Phédime, falls in love with the latter's daughter, but his poverty proves a serious obstacle to his happiness. Driven away by Phédime and saved from suicide by Cupid, he is recalled to save Alcée, who has fallen ill. He carries her off, but is arrested, tried, and sentenced to banishment. Thanks, however, to the arrival of a wealthy stranger, who recognizes him as his lost son, he is pardoned and united to his beloved.

Alphée tells of lovers separated by the calumny of a sorceress who, unable to win the hero, metamorphoses him, the girl he loves, and her father. The sorceress is loved by a satyr, who is loved in turn by a dryad. Finally Cupid restores to life those who have been metamorphosed and arranges three weddings. *L'Amour victorieux* presents the old pastoral quarrel between followers of Venus and Diana. Two shepherdesses are cold to their lovers and are punished by being forced to feel love for those whom they have scorned and who now scorn them. An oracle orders one of the shepherdesses sacrificed by one of the shepherds unless the latter yield to love, but, when the sacrifice is about to take place, the shepherds yield and Cupid points the moral. *Le Triomphe d'amour* is a reworking of *Alcée*, to the simple plot of which many complications are added, notably those produced by two satyrs, one of whom carries the heroine off to a cave, while the other is beaten by the shepherds. In the end Cupid unites the lovers.

The themes are thoroughly conventional with the exception of the silence motif in *Corine*, which has not hitherto been recognized as an echo of a well-known folk tale, found both in India and in Europe¹. *Alcée* is nearest to the tragi-comedy in its use of an *enlèvement*, a long-lost child, and a solution by recognition, confirmed by the *cri du sang* and a birthmark. In all five pastorals the gods intervene. Magic plays an important part in most of them. All end in at least two marriages, *Alphée* in three. An oracle, madness, and an echo are also utilized. The principal characters are shepherds and shepherdesses, avaricious old men, Cupid, Venus, and

(1) For a general treatment of the subject, especially in Sanskrit, cf. W. Norman Brown in the *American Journal of Philology*, XLIII (1922), 289-317.

Pan, the satyr and the sorceress. A chain of lovers in *l'Amour victorieux* includes no less than seven persons ! There are no mothers. The gods appear only at the beginning or at the end of the plays, when they serve to untie the knot. The satyr is often the villain and always a target for jests and blows. There is no lyric chorus, no tendency to follow the rule of only three interlocutors.

Hardy seeks to reproduce Arcadian simplicity by giving his characters a good deal of naïveté, shown in the description of a girl in *Alphée* who has not learned to love, in the desire to find a kingfisher's nest (*Alcée*), and in a youth's mourning over a lost swallow (*Corine*). This may explain why there are fewer classical allusions in the pastorals than in his other plays. Nevertheless, the proprieties are not observed. In *Alcée* they are violated little, but in the other pastorals the conversation is frequently unrestrained and there is fighting on the stage in three of them. In *Corine* a bath seems to be taken in the presence of the audience. The comic element is furnished chiefly by the satyrs, whose ugliness contrasts with their boasting of their beauty and who are fooled and beaten as in the farce. When they are lacking, as in *Alcée*, there is no comic element to speak of, though there is often a tone of *badinage* worthy of comedy.

There is no intentional observance of the unities. All the plays except *le Triomphe d'amour* violate the twenty-four hour rule. A number of localities in a forest are ordinarily represented. *Alcée* includes Elis as well as Arcadia. The unity of action is regularly violated by the presence of a *deus ex machina*. *Hors-d'œuvre* are frequent and the characters are not all mentioned in the first act. In *Corine* there are two plots, largely unconnected, and the action in *l'Amour victorieux* is double. Unlike Hardy's other plays, the pastorals are written in verses of ten syllables. The style is often affected and sentimental, but the dialogue is more developed than in the tragedies, there is a smaller amount of stichomythia, and the opening monologue is found only twice. Proverbial expressions are not infrequent. The fable of the dog who has lost his meat in the water is referred to both in *Alphée* and in *Alcée*. Some feeling for nature and some pathos are displayed in the latter. Note, for instance, the following lines :

Tu l'eusses veuë en l'Ame sauteler
 Comment poissons qui s'eleuent en l'air
 Par vn beau temps, que le soleil rayonne
 Dessur les flots, et qu'Amour les poinçonne (IV, 3).

Vous sçavez trop la coustume, mon Pere,
 De l'innocent lors qu'on le desespere ;
 Et de ma part ie vous prie à genoux,
 Ne me donner autre que luy d'Espoux,
 L'oracle oüy de la voix paternelle,
 Ie luy vouïay mon amour eternelle,
 Qui ne peut plus, et ne doit varier ;
 Ne vueillez donc ores déparier
 Ceux que le Ciel, vous, l'âge, et la natur
 Ont assemblez iusqu'à la sepulture (II, 3).

M. Marsan holds that, while the elements of Hardy's pastorals are not new, he infused into them new life by reducing the length of the tirades and of the discussions of conventional themes, by the use of preparation, by making his action progress, and by humanizing certain of the characters. He also did much to establish for the pastoral the division into five acts, the use of ten-syllable verse, and the elimination of the chorus, though he was to live to see Mairét react against the two latter characteristics. Hardy did not help develop the *tragi-comédie pastorale*, for he avoided in his pastorals knights, princesses, and their disguises. He kept the genre distinct from both tragedy and tragi-comedy and devoted it especially to the portrayal of love.

VI. — The Lost Plays

These present an interesting problem. The first of them, *Renaut*, must be derived from the *Orlando furioso*, but we know only its name and the fact that Théophile mentioned it along with *Théagène* as appealing to his taste. The other ten were mentioned by Mahelot in 1633 or 1634. He gives the titles, brief indications as to the scenery they required, and in many cases a drawing of how the stage appeared when the plays were acted¹. From this evidence Rigal determined what were the subjects of four of them². *Pandoste*, in two *journées*, is based on Robert Greene's *Pandosto*, a subject also treated, as we shall see, by Puget de la Serre. *Ozmin* comes from *Guzmán de Alfarache*. *L'Inceste supposé* has the same theme as the play of the same name by La Caze, which must be either a reworking of Hardy's play or a dramatization of the source. *Le Frère indiscret* is based, like *Frégonde*, on a tale by Diego de Agreda. Rigal's identifications went no farther than these four plays, but I subsequently a

(1) Cf. my edition of Mahelot, Paris, Champion, 1920

(2) *Op. cit.*, pp. 542-556.

(3) *M. L. N.*, XXVII (1912), 129-131.

discovered that *Leucosie* is derived from the *Clitophon et Leucippe* of Achilles Tatius, a late Greek novel also dramatized by Du Ryer, and that *Parténiê*, in two *journées*, may be based on an account of the assassination of Domitian. The evidence for the latter identification is, however, not sufficient to make it certain. Dr. Van Roosbroeck has suggested ¹ that the subject of the *Folie de Clidamant* is taken from the "Histoire de Cloryman, d'Isménie et de Polyxène" in the *Polyxène* of Molière d'Essertines (1623). The properties and scenery correspond fairly well, but there is no Clidamant in the story and the hero is not mad. Consequently one cannot be sure of this identification. No suggestions have been offered as to the sources of *Cintie* and *la Folie d'Ysabelle*. *La Folie de Turlupin* seems to have been either a pastoral or a comedy, for, while the setting is that of the former genre, the use of the name of the celebrated farce actor and the presence of a "baton a battre" suggest farcical scenes. The source has not been determined. It is probable that, with this exception, these lost plays are tragicomedies, derived from the kind of fiction that Hardy used when he composed his extant tragicomedies.

VII. — Conclusion

No one can any longer assign to Hardy the exalted position that Rigal gave him. He was not the first modern dramatist whose plays were acted, nor did he alone at any time compose all of the plays that were being written in France for performance. I would not even say with M. Lanson ² that he "seul, ou à peu près, soutient l'Hôtel de Bourgogne jusqu'en 1628", for we are not sure that he was always associated with the Comédiens du Roi when they were playing at that theater and we are sure that the Hôtel was at times rented to other actors than these. To suppose that he alone, or almost alone, provided the plays given there, one would have to believe that he was attached to the theater rather than to a troupe and of this there is no evidence. Neither is it sure that he "a fait de la troupe de Valleran la première troupe de France ³", for it may have been such in 1592, before Hardy began to write, and we know too little of Hardy's connection with it to be certain of the

(1) *M. L. N.*, XXXVII (1922), 121-123.

(2) *Esquisse*, p. 54. The only exceptions that he mentions are *Phalante*, *Pyrame*, *la Perfidie d'Aman*, La Charnays's *Madonthe*, and the plays of the *Théâtre françois*, published in 1624.

(3) *Ibid.*

fact. I would not deny, however, that he was constantly attached to that troupe. It is quite possible that he was, although we have no absolute proof of it before 1625. Even if he was, we have no evidence that the actors who employed him played only his pieces and I shall show in the next three chapters the evidence for believing that other plays were given in France than those of Hardy, many of them probably at the Hôtel de Bourgogne¹.

Hardy appears to have been the most important of a group of writers who composed plays between 1595 and 1625. In the latter year Mairet began to compete with him and he was soon joined by Du Ryer, Rotrou, Scudéry, and Corneille. When he died, some of his plays were still being acted, but they probably continued for only a few years to hold the stage. His young rivals soon outdistanced him. Nevertheless he had accomplished a great deal. He was, as far as we know, the first professional French dramatist², the first man who saw the necessity of building up a large repertory for a troupe. Naturally conservative, he sought both to imitate Garnier and to make his work more popular than the plays of his model had been. Hence the mixture of regularity and irregularity in his work that has just been described. His classical tragedies react, as M. Lanson puts it, against both the purely rhetorical tragedy and the irregular tragedy, but these were not all he wrote. In *Scédase* and *Aristoclée* he deals primarily with simple people. *Lu-crèce* is a sort of Romantic tragedy of blood and violence that reminds us of Dumas père. His reaction against irregularity is probably confined to his earlier tragedies, but we are too uncertain of his dates to be sure of this. In breaking away from the sixteenth century tragedy of lamentation, his work is important, but he is by no means alone in the movement. His work in tragi-comedy proved more influential, for he brought the genre into favor and, more than anyone else, determined its characteristics. M. Marsan finds that he did a similar work in fixing the form and content of the pastoral. It is possible that his avoidance of comedy may have influenced others to neglect that genre.

(1) Those who argue that no plays were given at the Hôtel de Bourgogne except those by Hardy assume that it is necessary to find special proof in the case of each play before they will admit that it was acted there, but if we apply the same test to Hardy's extant plays, we shall have to conclude that only three of them were performed in that theater, for, except for the presence of these three in Mahelot's list, there is no mention of any one of them by name as having been played there.

(2) Unless he was preceded by the actor, Mathieu Lefebvre, called Laporte, who between the end of the civil wars and the year 1609 composed and acted "quelques tragédies, comédies, pastorales et autres poèmes tant graves que facétieux". Cf. E. Campardon, *les Comédiens du Roi*, Paris, Champion, 1879, p. 281.

One can find in Hardy's theater a great many characteristics of later plays. There are characters and situations, even lines that recall Corneille¹. He introduces an occasional mental conflict, certain types of debate that will reappear later, but he was lacking in taste and did not learn to emphasize what was best in his work. He believed in the importance of style, but his own was so turgid, so rhetorical, and at the same time so careless that, applied to his antiquated vocabulary, it destroyed the effect of the dramatic scenes he was sometimes able to create. The consequence was that Racan and Théophile easily replaced him as models of style and Mairet began a reform in technique that was not long in ousting his. The service he had rendered should not, however, be forgotten. He was one of the chief of those who replaced the work of Jodelle and Garnier by a more dramatic form of play. If he is not the father of the modern French stage, he is the principal name in its history before Corneille's generation began to write.

(1) Cf. below what is said of his influence on Borée, Mairet's *Silvanire*, *Mélite*, *Orante*, and *Achab*. For a slight suggestion he may have furnished for Corneille's *Médée* cf. L. M. Riddle, *Genesis and Sources of Corneille's Tragedies*, Baltimore, 1926, p. 5. In the generation that succeeded his not only were his *Didon* and *Mariamne* reworked, as we have seen, but his *Panthée*, *Méléagre*, *Mort d'Achille*, *Coriolan*, *Proserpine*, *Gésippe*, *Elmire*, and *Belle Egyptienne*. Cf. Rigal, *op. cit.*

CHAPTER III

HARDY'S CONTEMPORARIES FROM 1610 TO 1618

Conditions in France when Louis XIII was under the tutelage of his mother and her Italian advisors were in some respects less favorable to the development of dramatic art than they had been in the reign of his father, for there were various revolts and the country was far from being well policed. Nevertheless a certain momentum had been gained, authors and actors had become more familiar with the demands of their audiences, and plays were getting farther away from the academic atmosphere of sixteenth century tragedy. It is not surprising if we find considerable evidence of dramatic activity.

I. — Performances

When Henri IV was assassinated, on May 14, 1610, consternation was so general that the actors left Paris for the provinces ¹, but they soon returned, for the Comédiens du Roi rented the Hôtel de Bourgogne in July of the same year. They occupied the theater during a considerable portion of the years 1610, 1611, 1612, 1614, 1615, 1616, and 1618 ². From Oct., 1613, to June, 1614, the theater was rented by the Italian troupe of J. B. Andreini, at the end of the latter year by the French troupe of Monsieur le Prince, and in Sept., 1615, by the company of a certain Dalembourg ³.

While no plays could be given legally at Paris except at the Hôtel de Bourgogne, violations of the law were probably not infrequent.

(1) According to Tallemant des Réaux, cited by Rigal, *Théâtre français avant la période classique*, p. 60.

(2) Cf. Fransen, *R. H. L.*, XXXIV (1927), 352, 353.

(3) *Ibid.* and Soulié, *op. cit.*, 156, 157. Fransen also notes the presence of an Italian troupe in 1612.

A "jeu de paume" could be turned into a theater without great difficulty or delay. One is consequently not surprised to find that, shortly before the king's death, Laporte, Marie Venier, his wife, and their comrades, probably the Comédiens du Roi, were condemned for playing at the Hôtel d'Argent, and that eleven days later, on March 24, the troupe of Claude Husson was fined for performing "ès faux-bourgs Saint-Germain-des-Prés". When Robert Guérin and François Vaultray were fined in March, 1613, it was probably for a similar offense ¹. Numerous performances were also given outside of Paris. French actors played at the Hague on Nov. 23, 1610, and April 30, 1612 ², at Mirecourt in Lorraine on Nov. 22, 1611 ³, at or near Bordeaux on Jan. 4, 1612 ⁴. A troupe was allowed to play at the Hague for a fortnight on March 4, 1613 ⁵. It was probably not the Comédiens du Roi, for we have just seen that Guérin and Vaultray were then at Paris, but this troupe probably left town not long afterwards, since Valleran acted at Leyden and the Hague several times in May of that year ⁶. Their departure from Paris may have been due to the fact that on Aug. 12, 1612, Fleury Jacob had obtained from the Parliament of Toulouse a sentence banishing five members of the troupe from the realm and confiscating their property on the charge that they had deprived him of his wife, Colombe Venier ⁷. On Sept. 14, 1613, the condemned actors, after protesting that Fleury had abandoned his wife and left her no means of support, while they had allowed her to continue to play in their troupe, obtained from the king a revocation of the decree of banishment, without which they declared that they did not dare play in France.

But other troupes were on the road. M. Lanson ⁸ believes that strolling players gave a morality and, presumably, an "istoyre en deux journées appelée *la Destruction de Troye*" at Draguignan in 1613. In the same year he finds French actors at Stuttgart. The troupe of Pierre Gillet played at Ratisbon in that year while the Diet was being held ⁹. On May 25, 1614, Gédéon La Tombe procured lodgings for the men and women of his troupe, their children and servants, seventeen in all, in Poitou and had a wooden theater

(1) Cf. Soulié, *op. cit.*, pp. 155, 156.

(2) Fransen, *Comédiens français en Hollande*, p. 44.

(3) Lanson, *R. H. L.*, X (1903), 224.

(4) Detcheverry, *Histoire des théâtres de Bordeaux*, cited by Marsan, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

(5) Fransen, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 51.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 52.

(7) E. Campardon, *les Comédiens du Roi*, Paris, Champion, 1879, pp. 279, 280.

(8) *Op. cit.*, X, 225.

(9) Cf. Rigal, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

built ¹. In 1615 Jean Floran asked permission to play religious and profane pieces at Strasburg ² and French actors performed at Nimeguen, Lille ³, and Brussels ⁴. They were again in the latter city in Nov., 1616, and were paid 72 florins. Finally, the actors that were under the protection of Prince Maurice of Nassau were playing at the Hague as late as April, 1618, when they returned to France and journeyed to Nantes, where they won the praise of *mademoiselle de Rohan* as "très honestes, ne disant aucune vilaine parole non seulement devant nous mès encore dans la ville à ce que l'on m'a dit" ⁵.

Amateur performances are not infrequent, but they become less important in the history of the drama as professional acting develops. They were given chiefly by school children, particularly those taught by the Jesuits. M. Lanson ⁶ finds evidence of performances at Liège in 1610, La Flèche in 1611, Bordeaux in 1611 and 1612, Châlon-sur-Saône, Valenciennes, and Douai in 1613, Brussels in 1614, Béthune in 1615, Malines and Namur in 1616, Valenciennes and Annecy in 1617, the latter place and Cuers (Var) in 1618. M. Gofflot ⁷ has added a mention of one at Pont-à-Mousson in 1617. The popularity of such performances is shown by the interest taken in them by the young king. M. Lanson believes that the supposed performance of *Bradamante*, referred to by Malherbe, was that of a ballet of which the scenario was taken from Garnier's play ⁸. Whether it was danced or recited, it must have been greatly reduced from the original to be played by children of three, four, five, and nine years of age. But in Héroard's Journal ⁹ there are various references that show a marked interest on Louis's part in entertainments that must have been something other than ballets. I cite the following entries from the second volume :

P. 52, Paris, Feb. 7, 1611, "un comédien qui représentoit seul plusieurs personnages". P. 67, Fontainebleau, June 20, 1611, "il voit jouer une tragédie françoise et une farce"; June 21, "il voit jouer une pastorele françoise et une farce"; June 22, "il voit jouer une farce". P. 115, Jan. 5, 1613, "Le Roi fait jouer une comédie françoise *De la Folie et de l'Amour aveugle*". P. 118, Feb. 26, "Il

(1) Cf. H. Clouzot, *op. cit.*, pp. 97 and 333.

(2) Cf. Rigal, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

(3) Fransen, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 71.

(4) Cf. H. Liebrecht, *Histoire du théâtre français à Bruxelles*, Paris, Champion, 1923, pp. 12, 13. They received 300 florins for three performances.

(5) Cf. Fransen, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 53.

(6) *Op. cit.*, X, 223, 228.

(7) *Le Théâtre au collège*, Paris, Champion, 1907, p. 300.

(8) *Op. cit.*, X, 223, 224.

(9) Paris, Didot, 1868.

fait jouer dans sa chambre la tragédie de *Emon*, tirée de l'Arioste, par ses petits, la Reine présente ". P. 121, April 28, 1613, " il fait jouer une comédie par ses enfants d'honneur ; ce qui lui arrivoit souvent ". P. 146, Tours, July 20, 1614, " à sept heures soupé, il va en sa chambre, puis à l'abbaye Saint-Julien, où il la comédie françoise, donnée par M. de Courtenvaux qui y logeoit ". P. 148, Poitiers, July 31, " à trois heures et demie il va au Palais, voir jouer une pastorelle par les écoliers des Jésuites ". P. 174, March 4, 1615, " fait jouer la comédie des Juifs ". P. 181, Sainte-Maure, near Chinon, Sept. 2, " va en carrosse aux Jésuites, où l'on représente devant lui des jeux dont le sujet étoit *l'Assemblée des Dieux* ". P. 187, Dec. 4, the king refuses to witness *le mariage de Salomon*, given by the Jesuits. P. 214, July 31, 1617, " il entend la comédie en sa chambre " ; Aug. 2, " il voit jouer la comédie ". P. 228, Dec. 29, 1618, " monte chez M. de Luynes, où il voit jouer une comédie françoise ". There are also various references to his visiting the Hôtel de Bourgogne and " la comédie françoise ". It seems, then, that the king's education in the drama was not neglected. There is no proof, as M. Lanson points out ¹, that there were professional performances at the court before 1625, but there must have been a number of plays acted by amateurs and the king had ample opportunity to see plays given by professionals elsewhere than in his palaces. At the same time no such interest was taken in them by the court as will be the case when Richelieu is at the head of the state. It is, perhaps, well that neither the Gascon Henri IV nor the Italian Marie de Médicis attempted seriously to direct the development of dramatic literature and that when the court did show a deep interest in the theater, it was dominated by one who represented a purely French culture.

M. Lanson refers in the article I have been utilizing to other evidence of dramatic activity. He cites lost plays of Théophile performed between 1610 and 1613 at the Hôtel de Bourgogne. While it seems to me that the evidence is not strong enough to date them so exactly or to determine at what theater they were played, we must believe that he wrote one or more plays besides his *Pyrame* and that they were acted in the period under discussion. He also mentions Troterel's statement that in 1615 he had already seen " mille tragédies en divers lieux ". However great the exaggeration, this remark must mean that the performance of plays was a very common occurrence. He points out, too, the special evidence we have for believing that the *Vengeance des Satyrs*, *Clotilde*, *Zoanthropie*,

(1) *Op. cit.*, p. 418.

and Gallardon's *Sainte Catherine* were acted. This evidence will be given below when those plays are discussed. To it I would add the fact that Gallardon declares, like Hardy, that he omits choruses because they are not used when plays are acted. Moreover the last lines of his *Urnes vivantes* are addressed to the audience and refer to a farce that is to follow. The concluding lines of his *Saint Vincent* and of Troterel's *Amour triomphant*, as well as the prologue of the latter's *Corrivaux*, are also addressed to the audience. Moreover nine plays use the word *commence* with the names of characters, as was done in the Middle Ages, obviously with performance in mind. It seems, then, safe to conclude that the plays that have survived were written with the expectation that they would be acted and that in the great majority of cases the author's hope was realized.

II. — General Characteristics

One must not expect to find in the plays discussed in this chapter any permanent contribution to literature. They are crude, reminiscent of the preceding decade, obviously inferior to work of the same period in England and Spain. The authors have little sense of form and little acquaintance with the demands of an exacting audience or with the theories of the learned. Nevertheless scenes of undoubted merit can be found here and there and there are authors who display skill in preparation and suspense, interest in motivation, analysis of character, style, and portrayal of manners and customs, though such qualities are the exception rather than the rule. The fact that the codification of classical laws is still in the future allows a certain quaintness of language and allusion that will be found more rarely in later years.

Rather more than forty plays have survived besides those written by Hardy. Many of them appeared anonymously. The sixteen authors whose names have come down to us lived in various parts of France and had various professions, but already Normandy is more prominently represented than any other part of the country and the law than other vocations. Moreover the majority of the plays were published at Rouen ¹. These facts take on special importance when it is remembered that this is the period of Corneille's childhood, spent in that city and in a family of magistrates. Scarcely more than a third of the plays contain dedications. With the exception of

(1) To be exact, Rouen 19, Paris 10, Poitiers 6, Lyons 6, Troyes 3, Louvain 1, if we take only first editions into consideration.

Louis XIII, his mother, Honoré d'Urfé, and Abel de Sainte-Marthe, the persons addressed are now practically unknown. They include petty nobles, a cardinal, an *intendant* of the Duke of Rohan, the governor of a town, important, doubtless, in their communities and able to assist a dramatist, but not distinguished patrons of letters. The theater has not yet acquired the distinction that it will have a few years later.

Some plays continue the traditions of the Middle Ages ¹, others show classical influence both in plot and style, but the technique of ancient plays is more and more disregarded. Italian influence is strong in the pastorals and in a few tragedies. The Spanish theater exerts no influence at all, but there are traces of the knowledge of *Don Quixote* and the *Diana* in one or two pastorals. Except when their tragedies are based on saints' lives or the Bible, the authors show little interest in moral instruction. Plots not derived from these sources come from classical authors — Ovid, Vergil, Seneca, Livy, Justin, — modern romance, and Turkish history. The ending is usually, but not always unhappy. The hero is ordinarily a prince or a god, a saint or traditional hero, but this is not always the case. The *More cruel* is concerned with persons of no special importance in the state. In the tragi-comedies the life of a saint is utilized, but there are no Biblical or historical sources. Authors turn instead to Petronius, the Esopic fable, the *Gesta Romanorum*, and a contemporary novelist, Nervèze. Pastorals derive chiefly from Italian works, though scenes from the history of France are introduced into one of them. In style, vocabulary, and versification the authors, like Hardy, have not learned to follow Malherbe, whose reform does not influence the theater before Racan's *Bergeries*.

No play consists merely of a series of lamentations. The leading persons are active, as a rule, even if victims. Tragic figures in the Aristotelian sense are not infrequent ². The villain is more common than in Hardy. Supernatural beings, especially Greek divinities, angels, and devils take part in a number of plays. The classical nurse persists, as do occasionally the anonymous messenger and the ghost. Children are seen and even have speaking rôles in several plays. Contrary to later usage, there are hod-carriers in the *Merveille*, priests in one or two plays, dogs in the *Mauvais riche*. The

(1) A morality, the *Ver du péché*, and the *Destruction de Troye* in two *journées*, mentioned by Lanson, *op. cit.*, p. 225. These were played at Draguignan in 1613. On the other hand, the tragedy with the same title as the latter play, acted at Bordeaux in 1611 by the scholars of the collège de Guyenne, was probably rather in the tradition of the Renaissance. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 224.

(2) Note especially Mosech in *Mahommétiste* and Riviéry in the *More cruel*.

pastorals have, of course, such conventional figures as the satyr, the echo, lovers arranged in a series as during the preceding period. The stock comic characters, the *miles*, the *lena*, the glutton, and the clever servant are not without influence. What is of greater importance for the future is the fact that psychological struggles and scenes of persuasion are not infrequent ¹.

Some of the plays have unity of action, but not in the strictly classical sense. Prévost's *Œdipe* observes the unity of time and place because he is imitating Seneca, but there is no evidence that he regarded them as required by rule. *Axiane* shows unity of time and of action, while the place represented is a public square and two or three houses, which may be near together, but this seems due to the nature of the subject rather than to a conscious effort to observe rules of unity. On the other hand, some of the plays describe actions that cover many years and a large amount of space. There may be subordinate plots that have no effect upon the main plot. The *deus ex machina* is sometimes found and new characters and motifs are often introduced late in the plays. What is important to notice is the fact that, although absolute freedom prevails, yet in the better plays ² there is a distinct trend towards simplicity of subject and unity of treatment.

Writers of the next generation would have objected to these plays, as to those of Hardy, on the ground that they admit acts of physical violence, that in some of them the language is vulgar, and that all of the tragedies introduce what is trivial. *Mahommétiste* and the *More cruel* contain scenes of physical horror that are more extreme than even Hardy's *Scédase* or *Alcméon*. The plays are, however, moral. If virtue is not rewarded, it at least wins our sympathy. The distinction of genres is not carried out. Lyric and comic elements are admitted into almost any of the plays. Most of them are written in alexandrine verse, two in verses of 10 syllables, one in verses of 8 syllables, two in prose. The majority of them show some variety in their meters. The chorus is retained in ten plays, chiefly in those whose sources are classical. In a few cases a chorus is found at or near the end of the fifth act. In other cases it appears only once or twice in a play. Songs occur in several plays and prologues, predictions, conjurations, etc. may also be found in other meters than the prevailing one. In the *Amantes*, which is written

(1) Cf. *Sainte Agnès*, III; *Sainte Catherine* (Gallardon), III; *Heureuses Infortunes*, 2 j., I, 1; *Pastorale* (Ménard), I, 5; *Orphée*, I; *Ephésienne*, III, IV; *Corrivaux*, pp. 280, 281.

(2) *Mahommétiste*, *More cruel*, *Axiane*, *Sainte Agnès*, *Ephésienne*, *Corrivaux*.

in 10-syllable verse, the *intermèdes* are in alexandrines. The two prose plays include a good deal of verse. That lines in lyric meters were not necessarily sung is shown by the following quotation. In *les Amours contraires* (pub. 1610) there is a dialogue that is sung, but when the play was rewritten as the *Vengeance des satyres* (pub. 1614), we find an alteration, for, after the line

Chantons chacun vn air, et puis dormons apres

is added this couplet :

Mais au lieu de chanter recitons quelque stance,
Car ie n'ay point de voix. — Ie le veux bien, commence.

The lines that follow are, then, recited. They are not, however, the "stances" of classical tragedy, for they constitute a dialogue. We have already noted an example of the lyric monologue, to be called later "stances", in Billard's *Genèvre* (pub. 1610). Examples are found in the period under discussion in *Zoanthropie*, IV, 2, 4, *les Amantes*, III, 1, and *l'Heureux désespéré*, III.

Epic fragments are represented by the *intermèdes* of *les Amantes*. Comic passages are spoken by the satyr of the pastoral, by persons who resemble the stock characters of ancient comedy, and even by individuals of greater importance. They include satire, brutal jests, jokes about food and drink, the wearing of horns, pedantry, etc. Characteristic of later comedy rather than of later tragedy are passages referring to manners and customs. They are found in these plays without regard to genres. I note observations regarding pregnant women (*Philarchie*, II, III), the use of frogs in medicine (*Grenouilles*, III), menus (*Perséenne*, IV, *Mauvais riche*), and fishing off Newfoundland (*Amour triomphant*, I, 3). Several plays show an interest in folk-lore that is curious and would subsequently have been considered out of place. An evil fairy is mentioned (*Axiane*, V), the origin of the Adam's apple is explained (*Création*, II, 2), storks are said to punish adultery in a female stork by death (*Orphée*, II), cranes swallow sand for ballast (*Ephésienne*, II), pelicans kill themselves in order to nourish their young (*Cyrus*, II, 2), a person may be injured by marking and burying his portrait (Poytevin, *Sainte Catherine*, IV), or by stabbing a wax image of him (*Amour triomphant*, IV, 3), a happy event should be marked by a white stone (*ibid.*, III, 4). The general ideas expressed are commonplace enough. The most interesting are those concerned with kindness to slaves (*More cruel*), opposition to dueling (*Vengeance des satyrs*, III, 2, *Amour*

trionphant, I, 4), and the superiority of worth over birth (*Œdipe*, IV, *Belle Esther*, III, *Amour triomphant*, III, 1). In this connection should be noted patriotic references, found chiefly in the *intermèdes* of *les Amantes*, but also at the end of *Clotilde*, in the *Merveille*, I, and in the political plays. In half the plays the scenes are not marked, but the division into five acts is usually adhered to. Seven plays have only four acts¹. The *Mauvais riche* is divided by the printer neither into acts nor scenes. The *Heureuses Infortunes* is the first play printed in the seventeenth century in two *journées*.

In the following pages the plays will be discussed in detail. Some of them are undoubtedly far cruder and far less dramatic than the productions of Hardy. Others, written in different fields than those he cultivated, are hard to compare with his. But there remain a number of tragedies, tragi-comedies, and pastorals that are quite the equals of his plays. Their existence shows that he was not the only writer of the period who had developed a kind of play in which action had largely replaced lament and in which preparation, suspense, and other essentials of a successful play were employed.

III. — Tragedy

1. THE ROUEN GROUP

We have first to consider eight tragedies published at Rouen by Abraham or Daniel Cousturier in the same duodecimo form and with the same kind of quaint illustrations. All but two are anonymous and only two are dated, one in 1612, the other in 1614. *Axiane*, a tragedy published at Rouen by Louis Coste in 1613, is bound with two of them. Since one, the *Naissance ou création du monde*, is attributed to Ville Toustain and another, *la Belle Hester*, to Iapien Marfrière, Beauchamps (II, 42, 43) assigns both of these and a third, *Samson le fort*, to Ville Toustain and makes of Iapien Marfrière the publisher of *Samson le fort*. The editor of the *Bib. du th. fr.* writes of the six that have a Biblical subject (I, 465) :

Je les ai mis sous la même date, parce qu'elles sont rassemblées dans un même volume, et qu'elles sont imprimées dans la même ville, chez le même Libraire, et du même format. On pourroit soupçonner aussi, et par le mauvais style et par la ridicule intrigue, qu'elles sont toutes du même Auteur.

(1) *Création*, *Samson*, Mainfray's *Hercule*, *Grenouilles*, *Urnes vivantes*, *Phébus*, *Magicienne*.

As far as the dates are concerned, this conclusion may be accepted. All the plays may have been published about the years 1612-1614, though it is quite possible that they were first acted several years earlier. But there is no real evidence that they were all composed by the same author. There is no decided similarity of style and we have just seen that two of them are not anonymous. Brunet attempted to avoid the latter difficulty by making of Iapien Marfrière the pseudonym of Ville Toustain and attributing all of the tragedies to him. He was followed by various editors of Racine's *Esther* when they discussed the authorship of *la Belle Hester*¹. Indeed the error became so general that it may be hard to correct, but if any one will examine the plays, he will see that there is no reason for attributing any of them to Ville Toustain except the *Naissance ou création du monde*, for it was by no means unusual to bind together plays by different authors. The other tragedies remain anonymous with the exception of *la Belle Hester*.

Now can we determine who was Iapien Marfrière? The name has every appearance of being an anagram and the day of anagrams was not yet over, as the cases of Montreux and Schelandre prove. An anagram of whose name? To answer this question I tried the names of the various dramatic authors of the period and found one, and only one, that would fit. It is that of Pierre Mainfray, native of Rouen, author of plays published from 1616 to 1625. The only difficulty is that the *y* of Mainfray is represented by *ie* in the anagram, but this fact has no importance. *Y* and *i* are, of course, interchangeable. Mute *e* does not count, for otherwise Daniel d'Anchères would not represent Jean de Schelandre. but, even if it must be counted, it is quite possible that Mainfray may have spelled his name Mainfraye since we find the name of Leonora Galigai spelled both Galigay and Galigaye in the *Phébus françois*, which will be studied in this chapter. It seems certain, therefore, that *la Belle Hester* was written by Pierre Mainfray and, as his first play, modestly brought out under this pseudonym, which brings me to the general conclusion that we have here eight plays, of which six are anonymous, one is by Ville Toustain, and one by Mainfray.

The first of the eight is the TRAGÉDIE MAHOMMÉTISTE "ou l'on peut voir et remarquer l'infidélité commise par Mahumet fils ayné du Roy des Othomans, nommé Amurat à l'endroit d'un sien amy et

(1) Cf. Mesnard, ed. of 1855, III, 448; Bernardin, 10th ed., Paris, Delagrave; Lanson, 11th ed., Paris, Hachette, 1910, p. 39.

son fidelle seruiteur, lequel Mahumet pour seul iouïr de l'Empire fit tuer son petit frere par ce fidelle amy, et comment il le liura en la puissance de sa mere pour en prendre vengeance, chose de grande cruauté¹". It is the only play of the period that deals with Turkish history, a field that had been explored by Bounin a half century before and, as we have seen, by Thillois in 1608. The plot is taken from incidents connected with the accession of two Sultans. When Mohammed II succeeded Amurat II in 1451, he caused an infant half-brother to be drowned in his bath and, next day, had the man executed who had carried out his orders. Forty-four years later another Mohammed succeeded another Amurat, had his nineteen brothers or half-brothers choked to death, and was subsequently much under the influence of his mother, the Sultana Valideh². From these events in the recent past the author gets his principal names, titles, and events. He is influenced by Seneca to introduce a ghost, nurse, chorus, and messenger. The two sources of his inspiration are not hard to combine, for the author of *Medea* and *Thyestes* would not have been shocked by the horror of an accession to the Turkish throne.

The first act, in true Senecan style, consists merely of a monologue by the ghost of Amurat predicting disaster, the lamentations of the Sultana, and the remarks of the chorus, while the next three acts are chiefly devoted to warnings and lamentations. The murder takes place behind the scenes. Already, however, there is a modern touch in a stanza at the end of the first chorus, which must have recalled to an audience of the day the death of Henri IV and the accession of his son :

O Dieux precieux
Vers les hommes tant gracieux
Si vous auez le temps passé
De voz douceurs recompencé,
Notre bon Roy deffunt et maistre
Doñez son fils d'un heureux sceptre...

In Act II, after Mosech has argued vainly with the new Sultan, Mahumet, against the murder of the latter's brothers, we find this interesting direction :

Icy la nourrice sort du chasteau, fuyant tenant le petit enfant en maillot entre ses bras acompagnè de l'autre Frere, avec elle.

(1) Rouen, Abraham Cousturier, 1612. It is not mentioned by M. Martino in his *Orient dans la littérature française*, Paris, Hachette, 1906.

(2) Cf. J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, Pesth, 1834-1840, I, 383, II, 598.

Probably this château was the only piece of scenery required for the performance. The nurse bids the older boy escape ; as for the other,

Je croy que ce petit en son maillot encor
Avec son petit ris et ces beaux cheuex d'or,
Refreneront du cœur la rage de son frere
Et luy feront peut estre esteindre sa colere.

The presence of children on the stage is interesting. We have noted some examples in the plays of Hardy in the last chapter. When Mahumet has pursued the nurse off the stage, his brother makes his escape after swearing to avenge himself. A messenger then reports to the chorus that the baby has been killed. The fourth act is entirely devoted to the Sultana's grief and desire for vengeance. The chorus is lacking at the end of it. The fifth is more original in its ghastliness and its study of character. Though Mahumet has unlimited power, he still feels his mother's influence, much as does Nero in *Britannicus*. His agent, Mosech, is a tragic figure in the Aristotelian sense, for he had killed the child under protest, yet is punished as if he had been as guilty as his master. The Sultana enters holding the dead infant in her arms. Mahumet describes her entrance picturesquely :

Elle fait comme l'ource quant ell' voit renuercé
Son petit de la dent d'un senglier hericé,
Elle vient pour le ioindre, ores d'un Sault auant
Ores d'un saut arriere elle va poursuiuant,
Et ne l'ose aprocher craignant que de son croc
Ne luy fende le ventre en redoublant son choc.

Mahumet tries in vain to defend his conduct and finally promises to grant any request she may make, whereupon she asks for the death of Mosech. The latter draws his sword to defend himself, but surrenders when Mahumet has sworn by Jupiter that he shall not be punished. But the Sultana sends the nurse for a "dague pointuë" despite her protests and those of the victim. She then informs him of her plan :

Ah ! cruel trop cruel tu as iniustement
Fait mourir mon enfant, le vois-tu estendu
Mort, sufoqué par toy il te sera rendu,
Non d'une telle mort : mais la plus detestable
Qu'on pourroit aduiser en ce val lamentable.
Je veux sur toy mon cœur et mes deux mains souïller

Et de ce poignart si ¹ le tien ventre entailler,
 Pour en tirer le cœur et de mes dens grinsantes
 Le rompre et en remplir mes entrailles bruslantes...

She accordingly draws out his heart, gloats over it, and drinks his blood :

Mais ie veux de son sang en boire vne goulée...
 O Dieu que ie reçois vn grand contentement,
 Je sens ores dans moy vne heureuse allegresse.

The faults of the play are obvious. Too much emphasis is laid upon physical horror, the versification is incorrect, the material is unequally distributed among the acts, three of which are lacking in action, and we are not told what becomes of the older boy and whether Mahumet and his mother are reconciled. On the other hand, the three leading characters are well drawn and the unity of the play is noteworthy, if accidental. It is eminently a transitional play that keeps certain characteristics of the sixteenth century while developing others that are more modern.

A more appealing tragedy, though almost as horrible, is the *MORE CRUEL*, or, to give its full title, the "Tragedie françoise d'un More cruel envers son seigneur nommé Riviery, Gentilhomme espagnol sa Damoiselle et ses Enfans ²". The source, as the author indicates, is Bandello's *Histoires tragiques*. He might have added that he did not use the original, but Belleforest's translation ³. To him he owes a great deal of his picturesque dialogue, for which there is no equivalent in Bandello's unadorned narration. He follows Belleforest closely, making few changes other than those required by his dramatic form or made to characterize the persons of the drama. The work depicts the life of a country gentleman and suggests a problem play with the moral that one should be kind to his slaves and, if he is not, should beware of trusting them, but the general question of slavery is not discussed. In the original the hero dwells in the Balearic Isles and has built a tower from which pirates can be seen, if they come to raid the coast. In the play this explanation of the existence of the tower is not given and the building is changed into a château. With true dramatic instinct,

(1) -ci.

(2) Rouen, Abraham Cousturier.

(3) The story is found in the third part of Bandello's collection, n° 21. It is n° 31 of Belleforest's translation, edition of Rouen, Pierre l'Oyselet, 1603, II, 565ff. Like Belleforest the author of the play calls the hero Riviéry instead of Rinieri, the original form, and he retains many of the phrases added by the translator, such as "bien harangué" and "couuerte de ma race".

the author, seeking suspense rather than surprise, begins his play with a prayer to the Prophet by the Moorish slave in which he begs for help against his master, Riviéry, whom he calls a "magasin de mille bastonnades". He protests against the severity of the punishment he has received from him. The fact that he addresses Mohammed and not Jupiter, as the Sultan had done in the play just discussed, is due to Belleforest, not to Bandello.

Riviéry, who is described as hot-headed, obstinate, and far from keen witted, but is possessed also of fine qualities, now regrets that he has beaten his slave and, encouraged by the latter's apparent submissiveness, decides to free him from his chains despite his wife's warnings, which, as well as her dream and the Moor's qualms, are not found in the sources. In the second act the Moor is maturing his plans for revenge and his master is making arrangements to go hunting, although his wife begs him not to leave her. The Moor hesitates to kill the children, but decides to do so in order to prove that men should not be beaten like mares and colts. A pathetic scene follows in which the mother encourages her children to enter the tower, promising them that they will hear music and the singing of sailors. The Moor, after praying again to the Prophet, tells his master's wife that she must submit to him. She upbraids him and calls on God for help. Her oldest son signals a passing hunter, but the latter is unable to enter the tower.

The action now shifts to a part of the stage where a forest is represented. The hunt is beginning and the hunters argue that Riviéry should not have left the Moor at large. Just then they learn that his family is in the Moor's power and summon their friend with a trumpet. The stage direction reads : "Faut sonner vne Trompe derriere". We next see the interior of the château. The wife has been ravished and is now pleading for her children, offering to die in their stead. Remembering her dream, she fears they will be hurled from the tower of the château. Her fears are justified in the following act. Her husband enters threatening the Moor :

Asseure toy paillard auant que ce iour passe
 Je taprendray d'vser vers moy de telle audace
 Car ie te fais serment tu lacheteras cher
 Faisant ton meschant corps en si haut lieu brancher
 Que les mores passant retournans du naufrage
 Te verront de cent lieux en ce bel esquipage ¹.

(1) Act V. Cf. Belleforest, "Asseure-toy paillard, qu'auant que la nuit soit close ie t'apprendray a vser de telle façon de faire... Je te iure Dieu, que ie te feray brancher si haut que les autres Mores te verront de vingt mille loin dans leurs galeres et nauires".

The Moor replies by reminding him of the beatings he has given him. Then he tells him that he has had vengeance by dishonoring his wife :

Car ie t'ay sans basteau fait faire le naufrage
Et fait passer à gay liste [*i. e.* à gué l'île] de cocuage ¹.

He then assures him that this is only the first act of the tragedy and, despite the pleadings of Riviéry and the hunters, hurls down one of the children from the tower of the château. Riviéry now offers pardon and payment if he will spare the rest of his family. The Moor agrees, provided he will cut off his nose. Riviéry consents, making him swear to give up his wife and the remaining children, then operates upon himself :

More c'est assez dict, or ça luisant cousteau
Tu sois de ma beauté le iuge et le bourreau.
Acheue vistement, hà Dieu qu'elle destresse
S'en est fait, souuiens toy More de ta promesse.

But the Moor only taunts him :

Ha à ce que ie voy tu n'as d'oresnauant
Que faire de mouchoir ², puis que si brauement
Tu as ainsi dolé ton reluisant visage.

Then he throws over the other children and their mother, makes a last speech, and leaps into the sea. Riviéry is left to point the moral and bury the dead.

This play is quite equal dramatically to any of Hardy's and was obviously written to be acted. The stage on which it was performed must have displayed three compartments, a forest and the outside and inside of a château. Riviéry is an Aristotelian hero, neither altogether bad nor altogether good, who has erred and is punished more than he deserves to be. His wife is his superior in discernment, but yields to his decisions, against her judgment, citing scripture to justify her obedience. Even the Moor is not the complete villain it

Bandello states merely that he " cominciò a dirgli le più villane parole del mondo, e minacciarlo di farlo appendere per la gola ".

(1) Cf. Belleforest, " te laisser deshonoré de ceste tache de coquage et te faire passer sans batteau en Cornuaille ". The author of the play evidently thinks that Cornwall is an island ! Bandello has merely " v'ho piantate per cimiero le corna ".

(2) Belleforest : " A ce que ie voy tu n'auras plus affaire de mouchoir, puis que si gentilment tu as dolé le visage ". This embellishment is not in Bandello, but it may have been suggested by the fact that the latter makes the Moor say in his final speech, " mais non purgherai il naso, che di me non ti ricordi ".

would have been easy to make him, for his crime is motivated and he hesitates before killing the children. The mental struggle that is given him in the play is not in the source. This fact and the unity of the play, which is as great as that of Mairet's *Silvanire*, shows that there was a tendency in France towards the classical system long before its rules were consciously accepted by dramatists.

The six Biblical plays, all very brief, that were printed by Abraham or Daniel Cousturier show far less dramatic talent. The first of them, to begin at the beginning, is the *Tragédie de la NAISSANCE OU CRÉATION DU MONDE* "où se void de belles descriptions des Animaux, Oiseaux, Poissons, Fleurs et autres choses rares, qui virent le iour à la naissance de l'Vniuers¹." The author is Ville Toustain. Although it contains only four acts, it treats of the creation of man, his fall, the murder of Abel, and the marking of Cain. It rambles along like a medieval mystery, God, Lucifer, and Satan playing important rôles. "Quel Apelle excellent", asks Adam, has made the garden? When he eats the apple, he laments that it has stuck "au milieu de la gorge". Cain uses a "lourde et massiue maschoir" to dispose of Abel. The descriptions of nature referred to in the title are chiefly catalogues of the vegetable and animal life in the garden:

Là l'Oliue tousiours, et l'Abricot friant,
La Figue iette-laict, le Citron palissant,
La Pomme donne-odeur, et la Pesche veluë,
L'Orange et l'Amandier, vont esgayant la veüe...
La Ciuette, le Linx, et le verd Stellion,
La Belette, le Cepht, l'Ours, et le Manthicore...

The two fabulous animals of the last verse are found in Rabelais, Bk. V, chap. 30, and in the elder Pliny, Bk. VIII, chaps. 19 and 21. The description recalls Du Bartas, but the play is of no importance in the evolution of the theater. It is rather a medieval product, slightly touched by classical influence.

The *Tragédie nouvelle de SAMSON LE FORT* "contenant ses victoires, et sa prise par la trahison de son espouse Dalide, qui luy couppa ses cheueux, et le liura aux Philistins, desquels il occit trois mil à son trespas²", is built on a similar plan. It describes in four acts most of the life of Samson. Dalilah appears in the last act only, which ends with the hero's death in the temple of the Philistines. While there is little departure from the Biblical narrative, classical influence

(1) Bib. Nat., Réserve, yf 3921. 32 pp.

(2) Bib. Nat., Réserve, yf 3966. 32 pp.

shows itself in the "blonde chevelure" of Samson and in a reference to the "enfant de Latone".

Similar characteristics are shown in the *Histoire tragédienne de la fureur et tyrannie de NABUCHODONOSOR*¹, though greater unity is attained, as the subject is a definite event rather than a life. After a sort of prologue in which Salomon outlines the events of the play and a superfluous Assuérus, son of the Babylonian monarch, gives an equally superfluous description of a storm at sea and an adventure with pirates, we see the king sacrificing to Jupiter! Nago and two other "martyrs" refuse to worship despite the king's opinion that

Il à plus de puissance, que ce grand Messias
Que vous appelez Dieu vendu par Iudas,

and even grow so bold as to retort that Jupiter is a "gros animal nullement bien taillé". The martyrs are thrown into prison, but, at his son's request, Nebuchadnezzar gives them two other chances to recant and even offers them a reward if they will do so. They reply by addressing further insults to Jupiter and he orders them cast into the flames. Here an angel joins them and, "estant sur la fournaise", calls the king Ganelon and predicts his transformation into a beast. The king then begins to run about and attack his son, so that it is necessary to chain him. The most striking thing about the play is the extraordinary *pot-pourri* the author makes of Christianity and the religions of the Jews, Greeks, and Babylonians.

I have given my reasons for believing that LA BELLE ESTHER, or, to give the title as it was originally printed, *la Belle Hester*, was written by Pierre Mainfray² under the pseudonym of Iapien Marrière. It was probably printed³, like the other plays belonging to the group, about 1612-1614 and not, as Brunet imagined, "vers 1620". I find no evidence that the author used the plays on the

(1) Bib. Nat., Réserve, yf 3922. This is probably one of the plays referred to in Sorel's *Maison des Jeux* (1642), cited by Rigal, *Théâtre français avant la période classique*, p. 19, as having been acted a good many years before by "tous les garçons d'un village", an honor it shared with three other plays, *le Mauvais riche*, *l'Histoire de l'enfant prodigue*, *les Amours de Médor et d'Angélique*, and *la Descente de Rodomont aux enfers*. Of these the *Enfant prodigue* is unknown, *Rodomont* was published in 1605, while the two others will be studied in this chapter.

(2) He is known as the author of the *Amours du grand Hercules* (pub. 1616), *Cyrus triomphant* (pub. 1618), *La Rhodienne* (pub. 1621), and *La Chasse royale* (pub. 1625). As we shall see, he may also have written *l'Ephésienne* (pub. 1614). Two ballads and stances composed by him were crowned at Rouen in 1616 and 1623. Cf. J.-A. Guiot, *Les trois siècles palinodiques*, Rouen, Lestringant, 1898, II, 74. Guiot states that he died in 1630 at the age of fifty.

(3) Bib. Nat., Réserve, yf 3889. 32 pp.

same subject of Rivaudeau, Pierre Mathieu, Montchrestien¹, or Lope de Vega, whose *Hermosa Esther* (1610) has, strangely enough, the same title. Between all of these plays and *la Belle Esther* there are distinct differences in treatment, while the resemblances can be explained by their common origin in the Bible or by developments common to many plays of the time, such as the fact that both this play and Montchrestien's *Aman* begin with the boasting of an important character. Mainfray undertakes to dramatize the whole Book of Esther, which is unfortunate, as it causes him to crowd together too many events in the last part of the play and makes him shift our interest from one queen to the other. Vashti is invited to the feast in the first act and condemned in the second. As the king modestly puts it :

Elle n'aura plus l'heur d'approcher de ma couche,
De cueillir la nepanthe et le miel de ma bouche.

After her departure, Esther enters and makes such an impression upon Ahasuerus that, when she declares herself to be of humble birth, he replies in a remarkably democratic spirit .

Je ne mesprise point vostre abiect parentage,
Puis que la vertu seule ennoblit le lignage.

In the fourth act Haman, angered by Mordecai's refusal to bow before him, gets the king's consent to the massacre of a certain "peuple estranger circoncis", while Mordecai persuades Esther to appeal to the king. This she does in the last act after inviting Ahasuerus and Haman to dinner. The Biblical narrative is followed closely, including the hanging of Haman behind the scenes on his own gibbet, the rescue of the Jews, and the rewarding of Mordecai. The play is carelessly constructed and the dramatic possibilities of the subject by no means grasped. The matter is poorly distributed among the acts and we are left in ignorance of the fate of Vashti and of Bagathan, whose plot had been disclosed by Mordecai. Nevertheless there is more action in it than in Montchrestien's play and the chorus has been wisely omitted.

The fifth tragedy of the group is that of the CHASTE ET VERTUEUSE SUZANNE, printed in 1614. As I have been unable to consult

(1) The "istoire de la reine Ester" was played at Cuers (Var) in 1618. Cf. Lanson, *R. H. L.*, X (1903), 228.

a copy of this play ¹, I give the analysis contained in the *Bib. du th. fr.* ² :

Les vieillards Naman et Azachar, amoureux de Suzanne, la surprennent dans le bain, et veulent lui faire violence. Elle appelle au secours ; ils l'accusent alors de l'avoir surprise en adultère ; on la juge, et on la condamne à être lapidée. Daniel prend sa défense, et trouve le moyen de découvrir l'imposture des vieillards, et de les en convaincre. Ces deux calomniateurs subissent le même supplice, où ils avoient fait condamner la chaste Suzanne.

Still more medieval in spirit and form is the *Histoire et tragédie du MAUVAIS RICHE* "extraite de la sainte escriture et représentée par dix-huit personnages ³". It is written in 10-syllable verse, much of it incorrect. There is no division into acts or scenes. The subject is taken, as the *Au Lecteur* tells us, from the sixteenth chapter of *Luke*. The play has an obviously pious intent, devils take part, and Heaven and Hell are shown on the stage. Certain *tableaux de mœurs* are not without interest. The rich man orders for his banquet "leuraux, petits lappins, perdrix, faisants, paons, signes". Gasterot, the cook, and Humebrouet, his assistant, prepare the repast. The rich man displays his silver, jewels, and tapestries, boasts of his wine "François, et d'Orleans, de Beaune, d'Anjou". "Icy sonnent les menestriers tandis que on sert les viandes sur la table". Lazarus arrives and asks for a crust, but is insulted and ordered out. "Notez que icy endroit les chiens luy vont lescher les playes des iambes et luy font feste". He takes comfort in the reflection

Qu'on passeroit par le trou d'une esguille,
Dequoy on coud, plustost vn grand Chableau,
Qu'un gros glouton, vn gros vilain pourceau
Comme tu és, qui se plaint et és riche.

But his repartee is of no avail. He is turned out and dies after leaving his purse to another pauper. "Notez que icy endroit doit descendre l'Ange par dedans vne nuée pour porter l'ame du pauvre a Abraham, et Abraham estant aux lymbes au-dessus d'enfer dit..."

(1) It is mentioned in the *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de feu M. James de Rothschild*, II, n° 1107, and in the *Mistère du Viel Testament*, V, p. LXXIX, where the first two lines of the play are cited. Naman declares that

C'est une extrême erreur de croire que l'amour
Preigne un sang vigoureux pour faire son séjour.

(2) I, 461.

(3) Bib. Nat., Réserve, yf 3958. Cf. above, p. 82, for the mention of this play by Sorel.

While the cook and the valet remove the body of Lazarus, the rich man falls ill and is put to bed, where he is visited by Satan and Belzebub, disguised as a physician and a druggist. The first calls himself

Maistre Ignare

J'ay étudié au grand Caire,
A Paris et à Montpellier.

When he pronounces the rich man dead, devils take his soul. "Icy font tourment en enfer, et puis l'ame parle", but to no purpose, for he is assured that he must remain in Hell forever and that there is no hope of converting his brothers.

It is quite possible that this play was composed as late as the period we are studying, but it is as likely that it dates from the sixteenth century. It even has some of the internal rimes beloved by the *rhétoriciens*, as when lines end with "ordure dure", "arsure seure", or "infets faits". On the other hand, it is more modern in meter and vocabulary than the medieval *Vie et histoire du maulvais riche à 13 personnages*¹, by which it must have been influenced.

The last play of the group is AXIANE OU L'AMOUR CLANDESTIN, "ou se remarque la ruze d'un Amant, qui achepte la mort de sa maistresse, au prix de la vie de son Rival. Autant admirable en ses effects que ingenieuse en l'invention de ces vers". It is classified with the others on account of its long and flattering title, its quaint illustrations, its lack of scene divisions, and the fact that it was printed at Rouen², but, unlike most of them, it has a romantic plot³, a unified structure, and even a date, for it was registered on Dec. 8, 1613. The source is unknown, although the sending of a poisoned chain may have some connection with Seneca's *Hercules Œtaeus* or *Medea*. It is much more dramatic than the Biblical plays that have just been discussed. Except for the fact that we are not prepared for Medina's criminal instincts, the play is well con-

(1) Published by Viollet-le-Duc in the *Ancien Théâtre françois*, Paris, Jannet, 1854, III, 267-299. Cf. Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire du théâtre comique en France au moyen-âge*, Paris, Cerf, 1886, pp. 83, 84.

(2) By Louis Coste le jeune. Bib. Nat., Réserve, yf 3915.

(3) The King of Bohemia wishes to reward the Duke of Saxony for the military services he has rendered, by marrying him to his daughter, but the latter obtains a delay of a year in which to mourn her dead brother and proposes to elope with the Duke of Medina, whom she loves. Saxony learns of this affair and asks Axiane to give him a token of her affection. Hearing that it is to be a chain, Medina borrows and poisons it. When Saxony unwraps it, he asks Axiane to kiss it and then kisses it himself. Both die, but Axiane has time to tell her father that Medina has had the chain in his possession. Confronted by this evidence and the testimony of the nurse to whom he had entrusted the chain, Medina confesses and stabs himself.

structed. The plot is simple, united, and moves swiftly to the dénouement. Especially admirable, on account of its use of suspense, is the scene in which the villain gives the chain to the nurse, who does not know that he has poisoned it. Medina makes her swear to tell Axiane not to unwrap it, "ny mesme l'adorer".

Nourrice : Fiez vous sur ma foy, comment la main vous tremble.

Medine : Trembler, à quel sujet ; c'est qu'ainsi il te semble ?

The nurse comes near opening the package as she leaves, but finally decides not to do so. The language is at times as brutal as that of *Mahommétiste*. The Duke of Saxony exclaims, for instance,

A quoy tient que desia sous les rudes carreaux

Je n'ay de l'estomach arraché les boyaux.

He is the only *personnage sympathique*, for his rival is a criminal and a rather cowardly one, while the heroine makes use of her brother's death not only to deceive her father, but to explain to Saxony why she receives Medina, alleging an extraordinary resemblance between the latter and her brother. The presence of a child is also to be noted¹. I find here, as in Hardy, lines of the text (II, "l'approche du Palais") used as a substitute for a stage-direction. An interesting comparison is contained in the king's remark that Medina has done a worse deed

Qu'onques Fée commit dessous humaine forme.

2. TRAGEDIES DERIVED FROM ITALIAN EPICS

The tragedy of *Godefroy de Bouillon* and another play, possibly a tragedy also, *Clorinde*, were performed at La Flèche in 1614 to honor Louis XIII and the tragedy of *Zerbin et Médor* was acted by "le s. Vichard et ses créatures" the same year at Remiremont². All of these are lost, unless the last be the same as the *Tragédie françoise des AMOURS D'ANGÉLIQUE ET DE MÉDOR* "avec les furies de Rolland, et la mort de Sacripan, le Roy de Sircacye : et plusieurs

(1) The fact that the page is a child is shown by a remark in the fifth act :
La verité se tire aisément des enfants.

(2) The first two were probably derived from Tasso. They are mentioned by Héroard, *op. cit.*, II, 156, and by Lanson, *op. cit.*, X, 225, 226, who also refers to the third play.

beaux effects contenuëen ladite Tragedie, tirée de l'Arioste¹". The author is unknown². The plot is derived from the *Orlando furioso*. The first two acts come from Canto XIX, st. 20-40, with reminiscences of the first canto ; Acts III and IV from Canto XXIII, st. 100-136 ; Act V from Canto XXIV, st. 4-14. The play is composed of three episodes loosely joined together. The first is the meeting of the hero and heroine, followed by her healing him and departure with him for her kingdom. They do not reappear after the second act. The second is that of Roland, who discovers that Angélique loves his rival, loses his mind, and rushes off to tear up a village. The third is devoted to Sacripan, who expresses his love for Angélique in a monologue at the end of the first act. He reappears only in the last act, when he kills himself after learning of the heroine's departure with Médor. This last incident is different both from Ariosto's account and from that of his continuator, Pescatore³. According to the former, Sacripan, when last seen, is still in quest of Angélique ; according to the latter, he is killed by Roger. Except for this incident, the anonymous author follows Ariosto closely, though he makes certain changes required by the dialogue form, increases the importance of the shepherd, and is coarser in his account of the lovers' relations. From the *Orlando* (C. XXIII, st. 104) comes Roland's desperate hope that the name "Médor", carved on a tree, is a loving epithet applied to himself. He thanks Venus (III),

Qui a rendu de moy vne beauté diuine
Amoureuse, or ie te voy, ie voy appertement
Que dessouz ce Medor me nomme son amant,

(1) I have used the edition of Troyes, Noël Landereau, without date, 8° (Bib. Nat., Réserve, yf 4673 ; *Soleinne*, n° 903). The play had also been published there by Nicolas Oudot, 1614, 8° (*Soleinne*, n° 964). Other editions mentioned, all appearing at Troyes in 1620, are those published by Edme Briden (*Soleinne*, 1 sup., n° 154), Nicolas Oudot (*Bib. du th. fr.*), Claude Briden (Beauchamps), Noël Moreau (*Pont-de-Vestle*). It is very probable that these four references are to the same edition, published, perhaps, by the combined printers of the town. Roth declares that the play was published in 1621, but, as he was unable to find a copy of it of that date, his evidence is of no great importance ; cf. his *Einfluss von Ariost's Orlando Furioso auf das franz. Theater*, Leipzig, Böhme, 1905, pp. 202, 203. For Sorcel's reference to the play cf. above, p. 82.

(2) Dr. Roth, who analyzes and criticizes the play in the work cited in the last note, attributes it to Coignée de Bourron. This attribution, for which he gives no authority, is obviously due to his misunderstanding of the *Bib. du th. fr.*, I, 527, where the play is listed after the *Iris* of that author, but separate from it by the analysis of the latter play. If the compilers of the *Bib. du th. fr.* had believed that the play was by Coignée, they would have given the title after that of *Iris* and then placed the two analyses after the two titles. As they do not do this, they evidently agree with other historians of the theater that the play is anonymous.

(3) Cf. the translation made of his sequel to the *Orlando* by G. Chappuys, *la Suite de Roland furieux*, Rouen, Claude le Villain, 1618, p. 183.

a sentiment worthy of Bélise in the *Femmes savantes* (I, 4), if not the source of Molière's inspiration. The lack of unity and propriety, the crudeness of language and versification do not indicate that the play was not acted. Several phrases, on the other hand, suggest that it was prepared for performance. It may have helped make madness popular on the French stage. Toldo, in a page devoted to the play, noted especially that there are only seven characters, that the shepherd's speech is not free from classical allusions, and that the dialogue is quite ridiculous in its images and its anachronisms¹.

3. TRAGEDIES OF CLASSICAL ORIGIN

If the tragedies of the period are divided according to their sources, the largest group is that derived from Greek and Roman material, especially from ancient mythology. Even when an historical character like Cyrus is selected, it is the legendary part of his life that seems to appeal. A tragedy called *Darius vaincu par Alexandre* that was played in 1618 at the Jesuit school of Pont-à-Mousson² may be an exception to this rule, but, unless this is Hardy's *Daire*, we have no means of determining to what extent it was historical. Certainly no such question will be raised with regard to *LA PHILARCHIE DES DIEUX*³ by a certain Oudineau, "aduocat en Parlement". The subject is the birth and youth of Jupiter as told by Apollodorus⁴ rather than by Hesiod⁵, for though the two accounts are much alike, Hesiod omits most of the details of the story after the arrival of Jupiter's mother in Crete. But Oudineau used other sources than Apollodorus. He gives the name of the King of Crete and of his two daughters as they are found in Lactantius⁶; calls one of the Cyclopes Pyragmon, as Vergil and a mythographer⁷ do; and seems to get from Pausanias⁸ the tradition that the youthful Jove was confided to the Dactyls or Curates of Mount

(1) *Bulletin italien*, IV, 190-191.

(2) Cf. Gofflot, *loc. cit.*

(3) Paris, Thierry, 1612, 8^o, with a dedication to Michel le Roy de la Ferté, "agent general des colonels et capitaines suisses et grisons et intendant du duc de Rohan". The play is extremely rare. Beauchamps lists it in his index, but not elsewhere. It figures among the *desiderata* given in *Soleinne* after n^o 1061. It appears in the catalogue of Nyon and a copy is found at the Arsenal, B. L. 10710.

(4) *Library*, I, 1, 2.

(5) *Theogony*, *passim*.

(6) *Instit.*, I, 22.

(7) *Aeneid*, VIII, 425, where the name is written Pyracmon; the third Vatican Mythographer, III, 10, 5.

(8) V, 7, 6.

Ida. Perhaps all this material had already been gathered together for him by an intermediary. However this may be, the play is a curious mixture of learning and ignorance. Titan is made the older brother of Saturn, and Vesta the mother of them both. The early part of the play is devoted to a dispute between the two brothers after Saturn has mutilated their father. Titan finally consents to his ruling the universe provided he have no children, although the orthodox legend has it that Saturn's desire to kill his children arose from his fear of being overthrown by them. When Rhea asks Vesta and Themis how the infant is to be protected against its father, the latter suggests taking refuge in Crete with King Mellisseus and the Curetes. We soon find her established in the " antres Dictéans " of Mount Ida, where Amalthea and Melissa, the daughters of the king, will feed the infant on milk and honey and where the Dactyls will make a great noise with their " cornets clairs " to hide Rhea's cries in childbirth. This event takes place on the stage, the Curetes sound their trumpets, and soon Rhea leaves the child with the princesses and goes to give the swaddled stone to Saturn, who had

Venu gueulle beante et le gosier ouuert.

Titan now learns from Lucifer that Saturn has broken his word and has him led off to Tartarus. Jupiter, meanwhile, has grown with marvelous rapidity. Shortly after amusing himself

Ioüant dedans cét antre afourchant vn baston,

he is leading an army against Titan. He conquers him, releases his parents, and plans to restore his father's power, but, learning that the latter had sworn to drive him from Heaven, he decides to rule in his stead. The play ends in a battle between Jupiter and the giants, resulting in the final victory of the former, who banishes the older generation from Heaven.

The play resembles Hardy's *Gigantomachie* in its use of the gods, its spectacular elements, and its looseness of structure. No attention is paid to the proprieties. Rhea is delivered on the stage, for she tells us

Ie tombe tout à plat mon fils me sort du ventre.

The crudeness of the conversations has a compensating quaintness and directness. Vesta argues that Saturn will have no children on account of his lack of temperament :

Il faut auoir le mot gaillard dedans la bouche
 Auoir l'esprit mouuant, le sang à l'escarmouche.

When she finds, however, that her prediction will not be fulfilled, she gives Rhea some good advice :

Faites vostre paquet et garnissez la trousse
 De langes, de drapeaux, de toile la plus douce,
 Les linges les plus doux, les plus soëfs plus dougez [*i. e.* douillets].

Rhea gives a curious description of the symptoms of a pregnant woman :

Les roses, les œillets me sentoient des chardons,
 Vn appetit me prit de manger des charbons,
 Batailler les fruits verts, puis ie deuins friande
 Des cendres du foyer et de cruë viande,
 J'eue les douleurs de dents puis le vomissement
 De cœur, qui fut suiuuy d'un affoiblissement :
 Sans cesse ie crachois dedans la cheminée,
 La veuë me deuint en moins d'un rien tournée,
 Jaune et pietre mon corps ie trainassois par bas,
 Et n'eusse sans m'asseoir secu faire quatre pas.

One would expect to find this naturalistic passage in the *Caquets de l'Accouchée* rather than in a tragedy, but the author shows that he is not altogether unmindful of the older usages of the genre, for he places a chorus at the end of each act except the last, makes frequent use of stichomythia, and has failed to modernize vocabulary and versification.

Another play in which the gods appear, though no longer as the leading characters, is *LA DESCENTE D'ORPHÉE AUX ENFERS* by Charles de l'Espine. It was published in 1614, 1623, and 1627¹. The edition of 1623 is dedicated to the Queen of Great Britain, to whose kindness to the poet reference is made². The subject had already inspired one of the *intermèdes* of Montreux's *Arimène*. L'Espine's play follows in the main the story of Orpheus and Eurydice as told by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses*, X and XI, and Vergil in his *Georgics*, IV, 452-526. From the former he derives the idea

(1) Louvain, Dormalius, 1614, 8° ; Paris, H. Sara, 1623, 8° ; Turin, U. Meruli, 1627, 4°. I have seen only the second edition, entitled *le Mariage d'Orphée, sa descente aux Enfers*. E. Roy (*R. H. L.*, IV, 18) suggests that this was the Lespine who was with Regnier at Rome, but Lachèvre (*Rec. Lib.*, p. 270) refuses to accept the identification.

(2) Since Great Britain had no queen between 1618 and 1625, this dedication must have appeared in the first edition and been addressed to the wife of James I. In fact Lachèvre states that it is found there, *Rec. Lib.*, p. 270.

that Hymen, though present at the wedding, was angry with the lovers ; from the latter, the attempt of the shepherd to ravish the heroine. He adds to both the fact that five important Olympian divinities are present in the first act, the conversations with the hunter, the magician, and several gods of the lower world.

In the opening scene the five Olympian divinities promise blessings, but Hymen, who has left in anger, causes a shepherd, Vergil's Aristaeus, to fall in love with Euridice. His wooing constitutes an *hors-d'œuvre*, for the heroine's death is only indirectly the result of the courtship and the snake that kills her might have bitten her under other circumstances. Orpheus learns of her death from a hunter, takes counsel of a magician, and follows her to Hades. The text includes several songs sung by him to Charon, Cerberus, etc. The meeting of Orpheus and Euridice is given, but, strangely enough, his loss of her takes place behind the scenes. The fifth act is a sort of epilogue in which Orpheus first charms, then angers the Bacchantes and is torn to pieces by them before our eyes. Apollo then brings the comforting information that husband and wife are now united in the Elysian Fields and that Bacchus has promised to avenge the hero.

The play is carelessly constructed. It is obviously lacking in unity. Although we witness the death of Euridice, we afterwards hear it twice described. There are so many characters that it is difficult to be interested in any of them. On the other hand, although the versification still shows hiatus and other characteristics of the older period, the verse is smoother than that of many plays of the time and the songs give a pleasing variety to the alexandrines of the dialogue. A few lines from the fifth act remind me of Racan's *Bergeries* ¹ :

Et vous petits Oiseaux qui dedans les bocages,
D'arbre en arbre chantez vos differents ramages,
Taisez-vous maintenant...

The Senecan influence, strong in the sixteenth century, but seldom exerted directly upon Hardy, was chiefly felt during the period under discussion by Jean Prévost ², two of whose three tragedies

(1) I, 3. Cf. also Mairet's *Chrystide*, ll. 773-776 and the note of my edition, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1925.

(2) Besides his tragedies he wrote a tragi-comedy, *Clotilde*, which will be discussed with other members of that genre. The verses published with his plays tell us that he was a lawyer at Dorat in Basse Marche, that he was ruined by a lawsuit, is now poor, and looks for aid to the Sainte-Marthe family. Bernier de la Brousse tells him that Garnier is no longer "unique au monde", while another friend feels that

were adaptations of tragedies by the Latin dramatist. In his *HERCULE* he follows the *Hercules Œtaeus*, but makes certain changes in the interest of dramatic action ¹. Monologues are shortened or omitted ², lines added to heighten suspense and give variety ³, or to introduce a scene from ordinary life :

Alcmène : Vous menez trop de bruit.
 Hylus : Que fait-il ?
 Alcmène : Il respire,
 Et se plaint quelque-fois approchez.
 Hylus : Je desire
 De voir sa contenance ?
 Alcmène : Approchez mon amy,
 Vous l'auez esueillé.
 Hylus : Il est bien endormy ⁴.

He alters the original to bring out Hylus's sympathy for his mother and his efforts to arouse pity for her in Hercules. He omits some of Seneca's numerous mythological allusions, rearranges the material of the first act so that the dialogue gains at the expense of the chorus, and, like the Greeks, has no chorus at the end of the play. He omits also Dejanira's reference to Iole (lines 573-574) in order to increase the likelihood of her husband's lack of suspicion. He does not refer to the miraculous element in Hercules's birth and makes the death of Lychas less extraordinary. In the interests of

he combines the merits of Pindar, Horace, and Ronsard. Besides more ambitious poems, he wrote a simple and humorous defense of the donkey, from which I quote :

Auprez du feu qu'vne couronne
 De tant de petits enuironne
 Qu'à peine m'en peux-je approcher,
 Il me plaist pour me desfacher
 Chanter l'Ane, ou comme luy braire.

One may note also an "Építaphe de Nicolas Rapin" and one in honor of "Simon Faulconnier, Medecin et Poète excellent", who, according to Prévost, wrote both tragedies and comedies. Cf. also Goujet, V, 430, 432, XIV, 127, XV, 65, 100, 300. In the last reference is noted Prévost's praise of Chabrol's *Orizelle* (pub. 1633), but the poem referred to must be the work of another Prévost if Lachèvre (*Bib. Rec.*, I, 281) is correct in stating that the author of the tragedies died at Paris on March 31, 1622. His *Apothéose de... Henri IV* is analyzed by M. Toinet in his *Recherches autour des poèmes héroïques-épiques du XVII^e siècle*, Tulle, Crauffon, 1899. H. Clouzot in his *Poésie dramatique en Poitou au XVII^e siècle*, Fontenay-le-Comte, 1898, pp. 6-8, discusses Prévost, citing a few lines from his *Œdipe* and giving a brief analysis of *Clotilde*.

(1) *Œdipe* and *Turne* are found in the *Tragédies et autres œuvres poétiques de Jean Prévost*, Poitiers, Jean Thoreau, 1614, 12^o (priv. Dec. 23, 1613). *Hercule* and *Clotilde* were published in his *Secondes œuvres poétiques et tragiques* by the same printer, dated 1613 (12^o), though this volume was probably no earlier than the other, for, in the copy at the Bib. Nat. (Réserve, yf 2973), the two are bound together and the signatures correspond, though there is a title-page for each collection.

(2) He omits Seneca's lines 233-255, 1151-1160, 1595-1606, 1863-1939.

(3) Cf. his addition before line 569 of Seneca.

(4) Cf. *Secondes œuvres*, p. 31 verso.

decency he omits Hercules's proposal (1486-1496) to his son to take over his concubine after his death. This respect for the proprieties does not mean, however, that he excludes homely words (*chemise poulet*) or a line like

Qu'une infame putain en ton lit vient gesir ¹.

Christian influence appears when his dying Hercules forgives his wife instead of merely ceasing to complain of the treatment he has received. A colorless Latin expression like "*unde sanguine infecti suo* ²" is replaced by the colorful line

De son sang empourpré teignit son onde bleuue ³

and "*carmine mago* ⁴" by the harmonious verse

Le murmure enchanteur des magiques chansons ⁵.

Unfortunately he retains the chorus and imitates Seneca's worst dramatic mistakes, the wearisome opening speech, the early disappearance of Iole, the fact that neither Hercules and Dejanira, nor Hercules and Iole appear together on the stage. The French public had to wait a score of years to see these errors corrected by Rotrou ⁶, who owes nothing to Prévost, unless it be his closing couplet ⁷.

In *ŒDIPE* Prévost keeps very close to Seneca, not only in the plot and the chorus, but in details of the dialogue. Compare, for instance, Seneca's *Œdipus*, ll. 598-607, with the following passage in the third act :

Les ames à sa voix greslettes sont venuës
Voller autour de luy comme legeres nuës,
Respirant à longs traicts l'air nouveau qui leur luit,
Ny iamais Esté n'a tant de feuilles produit
Ny le mont Hyblean tant d'auettes dorees,
Descampant leur essein des ruches encirees,
Ny le Nil n'a point veu tant d'oiseaux arriuer
Sur son bord chaleureux quand ils sentent l'Hyuer,
Fuyans le froid Strymon, et ses ondes glacees,
Que le son de ses vers a d'ombres amassees.

(1) P. 7.

(2) L. 300.

(3) P. 8.

(5) L. 467.

(5) P. 12.

(6) Some of them were partially corrected by Mainfray ; see below, p. 96.

(7) Cf. below, the discussion of his *Hercule mourant*.

He follows Seneca even in the horrible description of the blinding of *Œdipus* (ll. 962-970), which Sophocles had the good sense to avoid :

Ses doigts longs et crochus aux paupieres s'attachent,
L'œil suit de son bon gré les ongles qui l'arrachent,
Se presente à la playe, et auant que sentir
La fureur de ses doigts se grossit pour sortir.
Il courbe en longs crochets ses ongles aiguisées,
Et fouillant iusqu'au fond des paupieres creusées
Encore apres le coup de ses doigts acharnez,
Il rompt, il tranche, il coupe, il accroche, il déchire
Les vaisseaux de ses pleurs qu'hors des cercles il tire.

Occasionally, however, he puts in a development of his own. This occurs notably in the fourth act, when *Œdipus*, who in Seneca had merely insisted on learning from what blood he was sprung and in Sophocles had only declared himself fearless as to what he might discover, contrasts virtue and high rank in democratic fashion :

Ce n'est pas des ayeux, la braue renommée
Qui leur race ennoblit, et la rend estimée :
Il vaut mieux vertueux estre issu d'un bas sang,
Acquerant sur les siens un honorable rang,
Que noble diffamer ses parens par son crime :
Il n'est que la vertu qui met l'homme en estime,
L'esleue, l'ennoblit, et le rend grand seigneur,
Par elle il va gagnant son bien et son honneur.

TURNÉ is based on the twelfth book of the *Æneid* with a few reminiscences of the seventh. *Prévost* follows *Vergil* closely, but keeps the fighting behind the scenes. It is one of the first plays in the seventeenth century in which all violent action is intentionally eliminated from the stage. A chorus ends each of the acts except the last. The first act constitutes a sort of prologue in which *Juno* and *Juturna* discuss the fate of *Turnus*. In the second *Aimée* pleads with *Latinus* not to give his daughter to *Ænéas*, but the king insists on obeying the gods. Preparations for the battle occupy the third act. In the fourth *Turnus* learns that the city has been set on fire and rushes off to fight. The fifth follows the death of *Turnus*, contains a description of the final fighting and an account of the victor's pacific plans for the future. Place and time remain vague, though, unless a special place is required for the goddesses, they are quite limited in extent. *Prévost*, in short, sticks closely to his classical models and applies to *Vergil* the same dramatic system he

had employed when imitating Seneca. As an example of his style may be cited the following passage from the second act :

O si nous eussions creu ces prodiges diuins,
Et la prophete voix des Hetrusques diuins,
Quand l'essain bourdonnant des auettes sucrées
Vint du ciel se camper sur les branches sacrées
Du laurier d'Appollon dans le Royal pourpris,
Non, nous n'eussions iamais ceste guerre entrepris ¹.

Another tragedy derived from a legend concerning the founding of Rome is L'EMBRYON ROMAIN by Joachim Bernier de la Brousse, a friend of Prévost with a similar interest in the classics and admiration for Ronsard and Garnier ². He tells us that he had written his plays several years before he published them. His tragedy is quite inferior to his tragi-comedy. He follows faithfully and artlessly the story of Romulus and Remus as told by Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Plutarch ³, from the imprisonment by Amulius of his pregnant niece to the murder of Remus. Fifteen years elapse between the first and second acts, as they do between the two *journées* of his tragi-comedy. A chorus of shepherds ends each act but the last. When Amulius has been killed and the throne restored to Numitor, the latter expresses himself in a way that seems inspired by French civil strife :

Tout peuple reuolté qui retourne à son maistre
Doit estre caressé, auant que le destin
Par la rigueur des loix le rende plus mutin.

There is little physical action and no killing on the stage. Not only the murder of Amulius, but that of Remus is narrated. The latter *récit*, though almost at the end of the play, when the action is supposed to move quickly, is nine pages long! It is followed by an inter-

(1) Cf. also his description, after Vergil, of the attack of an eagle upon an army of "oiseaux aile-sonnants" (Act III).

(2) Cf. his poem to Prévost, cited above. He was a lawyer and banker at Poitiers, whose *Œuvres poétiques*, published there by Julian Thoreau in 1618, 12° (priv. Oct. 16, 1617), contain, besides this tragedy, a tragi-comedy, *les Heureuses Infortunes*, and two non-dramatic *bergeries*. Cf. Dreux-Duradier, *Histoire littéraire du Poitou*, Niort, 1842-1849, I, 186, cited by Marsan, *op. cit.*, p. 298 ; H. Clouzot, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-11 ; G. Colletet, *Discours de la Poésie morale*, Paris, Sommeville, 1657, p. 186 ; Goujet, XV, 97-101 ; Lachèvre, *Bib. Rec.*, I, 107. Colletet pronounced him an "homme d'esprit : il ne lui manquoit qu'un air de cour qu'il n'avoit pu acquérir au fond de sa province, d'où il n'étoit jamais sorti". Clouzot praises Remus's description of dawn.

(3) He follows Livy in having Remus captured by robbers, not shepherds, but gets Celer from Dionysius, or from Plutarch's *Life of Romulus*. The name Laurente is nearer to Dionysius's Laurentia than to the Larentia of the other two.]

esting recipe for putting to rest the wandering spirit of a dead man¹.

A second adaptation of Seneca's *Hercules Œtacus* was made by Pierre Mainfray in his *TRAGÉDIE DES FORCES INCOMPARABLES ET AMOURS DU GRAND HERCULES*. His play had two editions, one published by Nicolas Oudot at Troyes in 1616, 8°², the other at the same place without date by Yve Girardon. While he derives his plot from Seneca, he treats it with great freedom, changing most of the *réécits* into dialogue, omitting the chorus, and limiting himself to four acts. Juno appears at the beginning and end of the play, telling us first of her hatred for Hercules and, as an epilogue to the play, of her triumph over him and his achievement of immortality and marriage to Hebe. Hercules and Iole are on the stage at the same time (III, 1), which is not the case in either Seneca or Prévost. Hylus is omitted and the events he describes, the receipt of the shirt of Nessus and the murder of Lychas, are acted on the stage. The character of Hercules is sufficiently softened for him to have some qualms over deserting his wife for his captive (I, 2). The latter has in the second act much the attitude of resistance to Hercules we find in Rotrou, but in the third act she has become his mistress and admits loving him, though she is troubled at the thought of thus desecrating the memory of her father, the victim of Hercules. Dejanira remains closer than the other characters to Seneca's conception of her. The second scene of the third act reproduces the main events of Seneca's lines 256-582, but we do not see Dejanira after she has sent the fatal shirt. All we learn further about her and Iole is that at the end of the play we are told that Hercules's mother laments the fate of the two women. This independence of the model is noteworthy. While Prévost has altered the original chiefly in details of style and manners, Mainfray has made of it almost a new play. The changes from narrative to action and from singleness of purpose to psychological hesitation are both important. It is possible that Rotrou may have derived from him the idea of developing the rôle of Iole. Finally, several passages in the play show descriptive power and a feeling for nature. In II. 2 we find this musical couplet :

Ou que la brune nuit de ses nocturnes aisles
Voile le front du ciel et les claires estoilles.

(1) Quoted in *Soleinne*, n° 1001.

(2) The date is 1916, an obvious error. Cf. the copy at the Arsenal, B. L. 10619. The other edition is at the Bib. Nat., Réserve, yf 4674.

The following description of the sacrifice reminds one of Ronsard¹:

L'autel est esleué le long de ce bocage
De gazon verdoyant et l'ambrusche sauuage
Enrichy de Iosmin d'Amaranthe et de Lys,
De narcisses, d'Œillets, et Galys espanuys.
Le vin est au hanap et l'encens Panchaïde
Respand ia son odeur dans l'air vaste et liquide
L'autel est parsemé de verueine et Laurier,
Et le bois petillant presque ja en brazier,
Et ne faut plus sinon pour finir ce mistere,
Que assommer les thoreaux de ceste hache claire.

Nor is this comparison without its charm :

Tout ainsi qu'au pastant [*i. e.* passant] ou bien aux pelerins
Qui voyant sur le soir deux semblables chemins,
Ne peuuent que iuger lequel ils doiuent prendre
Et qui ayant bien loing cheminé sans entendre,
Si c'est le vray sentier duquel il [s] vont traçant,
Sont ravis de plaisir quand ils vont aduisant,
Quelque case de pastre ou lueur de chandelle,
Qui leur en va donnant toute bonne nouuelle.

Mainfray chose for his next play a subject not unlike that selected by Bernier de la Brousse for his *Embryon romain*, the legend of the birth of Cyrus and of his overthrowing the relative who had sought his life, as recounted in the first book of Justin's *Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum*, I, Chaps. IV-VI². The tragedy is entitled *CYRUS TRIOMPHANT OU LA FUREUR D'ASTIAGES ROY DE MÈDE*³. A friend hopes he may

Egaller ce grand sonneur
De la riuere de Loire,

probably referring to Ronsard⁴, and the author of the play addresses to Rouen lines that show he was a native of that city :

(1) Cf. *Odes*, Book IV, n° 22 in Laumonier's edition. Cf. also, below, the verses addressed by a friend to Mainfray's *Cyrus*.

(2) Rather than in Herodotus. Not only does the author tell us this, but the play is nearer to Justin's account than it is to that of Herodotus, who tells of two dreams, gives to Cambyses honorable birth, refutes the story of the bitch, makes no mention of Sybaris, and leaves Astyages at his grandson's court instead of being made ruler of Hyrcania. The only respect in which the play is nearer to Herodotus than to Justin lies in the fact that the child of the herdsman is born dead in Herodotus, but not in Justin. Mainfray probably owes this one fact to Herodotus, though he may have altered Justin's story independently in order to avoid the improbability of a mother's sacrificing her living child to save another.

(3) Rouen, David du Petit-Val, 1618, 12°.

(4) The Loire could be called a *rivière* in the XVIIth century (Cf. Du Chesne, *Antiquitez*, Paris, 1648. I, 515). This suggests that the reference is to Du Bellay and not to Ronsard, who is associated rather with the Loir, except for the greater fame of the latter poet and the possible confusion of the two rivers in the writer's mind.

Reçois de ton (*Mainfray*) Cyrus qu'il te dedie,
 Sy de toy i'ay mon estre et pour toy ie veux viure.

Astyages opens the play in the traditional manner of the braggart king, reciting lines that Mainfray was to use again a few years later¹. He argues with an attendant soothsayer as to the credibility of dreams, citing various examples from history, including those of Hamilcar, Alexander the Great, and Julius Caesar! As in Justin and Herodotus, he had seen his daughter produce a vine that covered Asia. He is told that this means that his son will overthrow him. Astyages replies that for fear of this dream he has married his daughter, Mandane, to a Persian of humble birth called Cambyses. The king decides that Mandane's son, who is about to be born, must be put to death and, after discussing various methods, bids his follower, Harpagus, expose the child to wild animals. Harpagus reluctantly consents. Mandane, whom we have first seen just before the birth of the child, now laments her loss, using, after Marot, the myth of the pelican (II, 1).

Helas sans esgorger ainsi mon pauvre enfant
 Que ne te mirois-tu dessus le Pelican
 Qui sans flatter son flanc s'enferme de furie
 Pour donner par sa mort a ses petits la vie.

The baby is turned over by Harpagus to the royal shepherd, whose wife, as in Herodotus, makes him agree to substitute their still-born child for it. The shepherd accordingly returns to the woods, where he had left the infant Cyrus, and finds that during his absence he had been protected and suckled by a bitch. The discovery makes him refer to various incidents of a similar nature².

When Astyages learns in the third act that Cyrus is growing up, he makes Harpagus eat, off the stage, the remains of his own son³. To avenge himself, Harpagus sends Cyrus a note hidden in the body of a young hare. The fourth act begins with a tirade in which Cyrus, after telling us that he has just received this message, launches into a long attack upon life at court, an imitation or a reworking of a passage from *l'Ephésienne*⁴. He then marches against his grandfather, who has entrusted his army to Harpagus. A last act tells

(1) Cf. below, the analysis of his *Rhodienne*.

(2) The case of Ilabris, suckled by a doe, is mentioned by Justin, *op. cit.*, XLIV, chap. iv.

(3) This important incident, which motivates Harpagus's deserting the king, is not mentioned in the analysis of the play by the frères Parfaict, IV, 283, 284.

(4) Cf. below, the discussion of that play.

of Cyrus's victory, to which Harpagus had contributed by joining his army. Virgins from among the Medes mourn over the misfortunes of Astyages, but become reconciled to his abdication when they learn that he has been given the government of Hyrcania. The action of the play covers some twenty years and takes place both in Persia and in Media. Although there are no subordinate episodes, the plot is loosely constructed. Strangely enough the proprieties are observed at least as far as the action is concerned, for Harpagus's feasting on his son's body and the fighting of the last act take place off the stage. The author's ignorance of history and his desire to display his dubious learning are apparent enough.

One of the most prolific authors of tragedy during this period was Jean Boissin de Gallardon, who published a collection of *Tragédies et histoires saintes* at Lyons, chez Simon Rigaud, 12^o, probably in 1618¹. In an introductory statement he refers to his plays as "ces premiers fruits", indicates their sources, and adds, "ie n'ay point accompagné mes œuvres de chœur, attendu qu'on les re-tranche le plus souuent, en representant les Histoires". *LA PERSÉENNE OU LA DÉLIVRANCE D'ANDROMÈDE*, dedicated to the Count of Roussillon, is derived, as the author declares, from the fourth and fifth books of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which supply all the events of importance. Boissin shows a certain independence in arranging and developing them. He has practically two plots, loosely joined together, the rescue of the heroine by Perseus, which is completed near the end of the third act, and the contest between Perseus and Phineus, which takes up the rest of the play. The lack of organic unity may be due to the fact that the material for each part comes from a different book. Early in the play Cassiopeia sins by extravagantly boasting of her daughter's beauty. Jupiter tells us that he has resolved to punish her and to have Andromeda tied to the rock. In the second act we find that his command has been carried out. The heroine, bound, exclaims :

Helas ! vous me voyez sans aucun vestement.

Her mother and her father lament, the latter reproaching his wife as if in a comedy :

(1) This date is given in the *Bib. du th. fr.*, I, 495, in *Soleinne*, n^o 1002, and in the copy of the volume I have examined at the Bib. Nat., but in the latter it is not printed, but written by hand. Nothing is known of this author except what is contained in his published work. From one of his dedications we learn that he lived for some time at Viviers in Vivarais. His plays are *Perséenne*, *la Fatale ou la conquête du sanglier de Calidon*, *le Martyre de Saint Vincent*, *le Martyre de Sainte Catherine*, and a pastoral, *les Urnes vivantes*.

Nous sommes sans enfans par vostre babillage.

Finally Perseus emerges from a cloud, describes his recent trip about the world, and bargains with the parents, who agree to his marrying their daughter if he save her life. We now hear of Phineus for the first time, but his claims on the girl are readily dismissed, since he has made no attempt to save her. The third act is most spectacular. After Perseus has made the parents pray Jupiter to forgive them, he swoops down, mounted on Pegasus, upon the monster and triumphs over him. As in Ovid, he does not use Medusa's head in this contest, but he refers to it, thus preparing us for what is to follow. Phineus now plots revenge, while Perseus is making love :

Vous me devez baiser, ou bien que ie vous baise...
Cela me nourrira attendant d'espouser.

In the palace the maître d'hôtel gives the menu of a banquet, a dramatic motif to be made famous by Molière and Augier :

A l'entree de table il nous faut premier mettre :
Le potage et bouilly, sausses et entremets,
Et puis nous seruirons apres les autres mets,
Comme la venaison, la perdrix, la becasse,
Et tout ce que lon a recouuert à la chasse :
Puis pour combler en fin ce banquet nonpareil,
Nous ferons le dessert d'un fort bel appareil
Des fruicts qui sont venus de la belle Pomone,
Allez au sommelier luy dire qu'il ordonne
La ceruoise adoucie et le suc delicat
De ce dieu potelé, et sur tout du muscat.

The marriage ceremony has now taken place. The guests sit down at the table, where the " premier prince " gives a lecture on the history of Ethiopia according to Pliny ¹, the customs, religion, and laws of the land. Perseus shows his appreciation of this information by making known how he won Medusa's head and the origin of Pegasus. This instructive conversation is rudely interrupted by Phineus and a band of soldiers. They attack Perseus, who has the support of his father-in-law and of the goddess Minerva. Men fall on either side until Perseus produces Medusa's head and turns his enemies into stone.

An antiquated vocabulary, irregular versification, and obscure classical allusions combine with the changes in style to make of this

(1) I have been unable to find in Pliny a passage that would justify this reference.

play a dramatic monstrosity. It is partly a tragedy in which pride is punished by jealous gods, partly a comedy of manners, and partly a spectacular melodrama. The last element is emphasized at the expense of the others. Pegasus had already been seen carrying Perseus through the air in an *intermède* of Montreux's *Arimène* (pub. 1597). Painters had realized the value for their art of the winged horse¹, though ancient writers had considered it sufficient to furnish Perseus with wings. After Boissin, Lope de Vega², Corneille, and Calderon³ provided Perseus with this same spectacular, but unnecessary steed. Corneille, in the preface to his *Andromède*, admits the influence of painters upon him, asserts that the introduction of Pegasus "donne lieu à une machine toute extraordinaire et merveilleuse et empêche que Persée ne soit pris pour Minerve". It is probably this love of the spectacular that induced Boissin to do as the painters had done, but it is by no means sure that he, like Corneille, was influenced by them rather than by Montreux or some other writer. Nor is there enough evidence to show that he influenced Corneille, though they make in common another departure from the legend. In their plays Cassiopeia boasts of her daughter's beauty, whereas Ovid had made her vaunt her own. Corneille's explanation that a woman old enough to have a marriageable daughter would not be likely to boast of her own beauty may well have occurred to him without knowledge of Boissin's play. It is also possible that both may be following an earlier writer, for the change had already been made by Natalis Comes⁴. At any rate Boissin must be credited with coinciding with Corneille in certain respects in his dramatization of the myth.

His second tragedy is *LA FATALE OU LA CONQUESTE DU SANGLIER DE CALIDON*, which he dedicated to the Baron de Leugière. It is derived, as Boissin tells us, from the eighth book of the *Metamorphoses*⁵. The difficulty of writing a play on the subject of Meleager

(1) Cf. the painting of Andromeda, rescued by Perseus on Pegasus, by Annibale Carracci in the Farnese palace and two interpretations by Rubens of the same legend. See *Galeriae Farnesianae icones Romae*, Rome, no date; H. Knackfuss, *Rubens*, translated by L. M. Richter, Leipzig, 1904, pp. 29, 30; J. Smith, *Catalogue raisonné of the most eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters*, London, Smith and Son, 1830, II, 244. A more recent example is furnished by J. S. Sargent's painting of Medusa's death in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

(2) In his *Perseo*. This fact was called to my attention by my colleague, J. Robles. Menéndez y Pelayo in his study of the sources of Lope's play fails to note that in Ovid Perseus is not mounted on Pegasus.

(3) In his *Fortunas de Andrómeda y Perseo*.

(4) *Mythologiae libri decem*, Padua, 1616, p. 423.

(5) An examination of Apollodorus, Diodorus, and Hyginus confirms the truth of this statement. For instance, none of them gives the names to the hero's victims that are assigned to them by Ovid and Boissin.

has been pointed out by Rigal¹, who refers to Boissin's play in his discussion of Hardy's *Méléagre*. He finds no resemblances between the two plays, except such as come from their common source, nor do I. Boissin's tragedy is better adapted to the stage than is that of his more experienced contemporary, for he uses fewer *réécits*, has the hunting acted on the stage, and treats the character of Althea with greater discernment. On the other hand, both tragedies are distinctly inferior to Benserade's, for he is the first to give unity to the plot and to prepare properly for Althea's sacrifice of her son. There is apparently no connection between the latter play and Boissin's.

We learn in the first act of the insult to Diana, her sending the terrible boar, the gathering of the hunters, and Meleager's falling in love with Atalanta. The second act gives the hunt, which the lovers lead with vivacity :

Méléagre : Le voicy, le voicy, ça ça frappons, frappons
Avec nos dards pointus, et de front l'attrapons :
Bon courage Echion tu luy as fait atteinte.

Atalante : Apres mes caualiers chacun coure sans feinte,
Car il se va cacher aux saules et rouseaux.

Ovid's description of the fighting is altered in minor details, for it is Jason, not Mopse, who hits the boar without drawing blood, while the heroine pierces the boar's ear instead of striking him "sub aure". After three hunters have fallen, Meleager kills the beast and gives the "gros chef enhuré" to Atalanta. His uncles protest and snatch away the prize, but Meleager comes to her aid and kills them with his "coutelas". He then makes love to Atalanta despite her fears that the gods may wreak vengeance. The third act is devoted to Althea and her decision to burn the charmed brand and cause in this way the death of her son ; in the fourth Meleager dies, and in the fifth Althea commits suicide from remorse.

The dramatic material is poorly distributed, for most of it is in the second act. The treatment of character is so unsatisfactory that we are unprepared for this series of criminal actions. The monologues are long and not infrequent. There are too many characters in the first two acts ; too few in the rest. A significant lack of dramatic imagination is shown by the retention in the dialogue of Ovid's statement (VIII, 309) that the father of Achilles was among the hunters, although the latter hero was still unborn.

(1) *Alexandre Hardy*, pp. 310-314.

Nevertheless the play is, as I have said, as dramatic as that of Hardy. Both introduce Althea too late and neither accounts for her extraordinary devotion to her brothers, which makes her sacrifice her son in order to avenge them. But Boissin sins in this important matter far less than does his rival, for he introduces her two acts sooner and makes her hesitate before she burns the torch and feel remorse afterwards ¹.

4. TRAGEDIES DERIVED FROM LIVES OF SAINTS

Four are lost. They are the *Action de la Conversion du Bienheureux Ignace de Loïola*, performed by the pupils of the Jesuits at Liège in 1610 ²; a play in honor of Saint Terentien and his companion, given at the collège d'Anchin of Douai in 1613 ³, the *Glorieux et illustre Martyre de cinq Japonais, Joachime, Michel, avec Thomas son filz aagé de douze ans, Jean et Pierre son petit-filz, n'ayant plus de six ans*, played at the collège of Namur, Sept. 14, 1616; and the *Représentation des Poincts principaux de la Vie de saint Guillaume, Duc d'Aquitaine, Comte de Poitiers, etc.*, acted in a school at Brussels in 1614 ⁴. These plays could have had but little importance in the history of the drama. On the other hand, one of the four tragedies belonging to this group that have been preserved is one of the leading plays of the period. This is the *SAINTE AGNÈS* of Pierre Troterel Sieur d'Aves ⁵.

(1) The word "boubouillant", found in the third act, suggests the influence of Du Bartas.

(2) Cf. Faber, *op. cit.*, I, 40.

(3) Cf. Lanson, *R. H. L.*, X, 225.

(4) Cf. Faber, *loc. cit.* The last play can hardly be the one on the same theme attributed to Troterel. Cf. below, Chap. X.

(5) He is the most important writer treated in this chapter. Information in regard to the place of his birth is furnished by a poem published with his *Philistée* to which attention was called by Paul Lacroix in *Soleinne*, n° 909 :

Il faut, Lecteur, que ie te die
Que ie demeure en Normandie :
Le lieu de ma natiuité
Est près Faleze, du côté
Où le Soleil commence à luire
A l'opposite de Zéfira.

As Bazire, in *stances* written for Troterel's *Driade amoureuse* (pub. 1606), declares that the latter "n'a point conté ses cinq fois quatre années", he must have been born shortly after 1586. Verses that accompany *Gillette* suggest that the author of that play, probably Troterel, was living at Lisieux in 1620. Toldo's argument that he was a Huguenot because the hero of the latter play is one is not convincing. He wrote five pastorals, *la Driade amoureuse*, *Théocris* (pub. 1610), *l'Amour triomphant*, *Aristène*, *Philistée*; the tragedy under discussion; probably two "comédies facétieuses", *les Corrivaux* and *Gillette*; a tragi-comedy, *Pasithée*; and a lost play, *Guillaume d'Aquitaine*. *Sainte Agnès* was published at Rouen by David du Petit-Val in 1615, 12°, and at Paris in 1875 for the Librairie des Bibliophiles.

The meager account of Saint Agnes given by Saint Ambrose, Pope Damasus, and Prudentius grew into a well defined legend with highly dramatic traits, adapted both to vulgar and to pious tastes ¹. The youthful maiden, considering herself the bride of Christ, refuses to wed the son of Symphronius, Governor of Rome. The latter, making use of laws against the Christians, seeks to make her marry his son by threatening her with incarceration in a brothel. She remains steadfast and, with the assistance of an angel, routs for a time her persecutors, even finding the power to bring back to life her too ardent lover and to escape from flames which burn up the men who attempt to throw her into them. But finally she is stabbed by order of the prefect's deputy, her soul mounts to Heaven, and her parents prepare to bury her body.

Troterel follows this narrative, but makes a number of interesting changes. He has the play begin in a forest, where Martian, the governor's son, is lamenting on account of his unrequited love. Such a scene can be found in many a pastoral of the period, a genre at which the author had already tried his hand. Comic scenes are introduced, though there is nothing comic in the original. Characters are added and others are altered so that they may win our sympathy. Saint Agnes becomes more human, for she is less stoical about being taken to the brothel and less anxious to die. The governor says to her (Act III) :

Quoy ! Je vous voy palir, et desja vous tremblez !
Vous estes toute émeuë et vos sens sont troublez !

The responsibility for her death belongs chiefly to her executioner, while in the original his act seems to be merely a fulfilment of her desire for martyrdom in accordance with the divine plan. She is not yet a Polyeucte, whose religion conquers his love, but, though she has no affection for Martian, there is at least the beginning of a situation that Corneille was later to make much of. She admits to the governor (Act III) :

Si j'avois désiré qu'amour fust mon vaincœur,
J'eusse élu vostre fils pour maistre de mon cœur ².

The son of the governor, or prefect, is given a name and hesitates

(1) Cf. *Acta Sanctorum*, Jan., II, 715-717.

(2) Cf. my edition of *Chryséide*, note on lines 1565, 1566. Mairet's play and its source, the *Astrée*, express somewhat the same idea. Cf. also the discussion of Troterel's *Pasithée* in the next chapter.

for a long time before he consents to the use of force in regard to Agnes. Indeed he is brought to consent to it largely through the influence of his friend Censorin, who serves as his scapegoat, much as Œnone makes possible Racine's conception of Phèdre. Martian is thus made not only a less immoral character, but a more dramatic one. The scene in which his friend argues with him is important (Act III) :

- Censorin : La loy commande exprés qu'on la meine au bordeau,
Et là vous jouyrez de son corps gent et beau.
- Martian : Je n'auroi nul plaisir d'en jouyr de la sorte.
- Censorin : Quoy que s'en soit, tousjours cela nous reconforte.
- Martian : J'aimerois beaucoup mieux l'avoir par la douceur,
Afin d'en demeurer à jamais possesseur.
- Censorin : Mais de deux maux tousjours il faut choisir le moindre...
- Martian : Je serois trop cruel, je serois trop barbare...
- Censorin : Ce n'est point cruauté, puis que son cœur ingrat
Ne fait de votre amour aucunement estat.
- Martian : Quoy que s'en soit, la force est tousjours odieuse.
- Censorin : Ouy bien qui forceroit une ame gracieuse,
Mais une ingrate, non.
- Martian : Mais ceux qui ne sçauroient
L'affaire comme nous bien fort me blasmeroient,
M'appelant violeur, indiscret, impudique,
Imitant de Neron la flame tyrannique.
- Censorin : Si vous ne rejettez telles impressions,
Vous ne parviendrez point à vos intentions...
- Martian : Avant que d'en venir à ce remède extrême,
Je veux encor la voir et luy parler moy mesme.

The governor is the most interesting character in the play, a sort of Pontius Pilate, who shows great devotion to his son, considerable sympathy for Agnes, and respect for her parents, but is not strong enough to protect her when the *sacrificateurs* threaten him with the emperor's displeasure. He is an earlier Félix without his duplicity. When he sins, it is in the heat of the moment rather than after premeditation. Agnes's parents, though still without names, are given rôles of some importance. Her father, though a Christian, lacks her courage and trembles before Simphonie. His rôle suggests that of Néarque, the practical, rather than the heroic Christian. The *sacrificateurs* play the same part as in the original, but Troterel makes the Roman people sympathize with Agnes, while in the version of the *Acta Sanctorum* they turn against her.

The language is at times close to that of the source¹. The

(1) Cf. *Acta Sanctorum*, loc. cit., section 3. "Cujus mater virgo est... Cui angeli serviunt... Quem cum amavero, casta sum" becomes in Act II :

dialogue is well handled for the period and lacks the stiffness that is often found in Hardy. The monologues are not long. The action takes place largely before our eyes, though the miraculous scenes in the brothel and the final martyrdom, both of which would be difficult to represent, are kept off the stage. Though not accepting later rules of unity and propriety, the play possesses a unity of its own, its action steadily progresses, and there is considerable use of preparation and suspense. One of the most striking things about the play is its mixture of piety and obscenity. On the one hand, the names of Jesus and Mary are mentioned, Agnes prays, an angel gives her edifying counsel, and the effect of miracles is shown, while, on the other hand, we are given a sketch of the early seventeenth century underworld, with comic dialogues between the "paillards", the "maquerelles", and a "trompette" who leads Agnes to the house of prostitution while advertising her charms to the patrons of the establishment. The language here is that of the farce. Elsewhere it is quite different, though the governor and his son express themselves in colloquial speech¹. A scene that would not be out of place in a comedy is the one in which the governor asks Agnes's father to allow his son to marry her and in which the frightened parent seeks to avoid this honor, but Troterel does not develop the comic material contained in this situation.

It is with *Sainte Agnès* that the story of a martyrdom definitely becomes a possible subject for a modern French tragedy. As we have seen, a number of plays dealing with lives of saints had already been written, chiefly for performance by schoolboys, but these possessed far too little dramatic value to be seriously considered as helping in the development of the genre. In *Sainte Agnès*, on the contrary, we find not only the two essential figures of the persecutor and the martyr, but also the weaker Christian and the pagan lover who becomes a convert through the activities of the saint. Poly-eucte, Félix, Nérarque, Pauline are thus foreshadowed, though it is

Sa mere est une vierge, une sainte pucelle...
 Ses pages, ses valets et tous ces domestiques
 Ne sont que des esprits, mais esprits angeliques...
 D'estre d'un tel amant chastement amoureuse.

- (1) Act II : Tant le vin de l'amour qu'elle a humé sans eau
 A donné dans son casque et troublé son cerveau.
 Act III : Je suis seur de la voir chanter d'autre langage :
 Est-il pas vray, m'amie ? Elle ne respond rien...
 Hé bien, mon petit cœur. hé bien, ma mignonette.

not necessary to suppose direct influence ¹. We shall see these types reappearing in the other tragedies of this group.

The first of these is the *SAINTE CATHERINE* of Boissin de Gallardon, which was published with his other plays in 1618 ². The author follows very closely the familiar legend as told in Greek by Symeon Metaphrastes and translated into Latin by Surius ³. The emperor, whose name is given both as Maximin and Maxence ⁴, sacrifices to the gods to show his gratitude for his victories. Catherine preaches to him, pointing out the futility and impiety of his act, and citing Diodorus, Plutarch, and Isaiah in an effort to prove the truth of Christian doctrine. Although her argument is nothing but affirmation and quotation, she deeply impresses the emperor, who calls in his wise men, warning them that Catherine is more eloquent than Plato and bidding them argue against her. As in *Sainte Agnès* an angel encourages her. She then overwhelms her opponents, citing David, Orpheus, Sophocles, the Sibyl, and Apollo, as in the original. They remain " *confus et sans repliquement* " despite the emperor's threats and even become converted, though it means that they are condemned to be burned. Catherine promises them that the flames will take the place of the water of baptism. The emperor tries to bribe her, then orders her whipped. In the third act she converts the empress and Porphirio, an officer of the army; in the fourth the soldiers are killed who take her to be tortured. The emperor then vents his anger upon his wife :

Arrachez ces tetons avec cette tenaille,

and finally has her beheaded. Porphirio and his soldiers, Catherine last of all, meet the same fate. A " *chœur de femmes* " describes her death, telling us that milk came from her body instead of blood. Angels take her corpse to Mount Sinai ⁵.

(1) Cf. L. M. Riddle, *op. cit.*, pp. 104, 119. The example of *Sainte Agnès* may have encouraged Corneille to write *Théodore*.

(2) Lanson, *R. H. L.*, X, 228, interprets the manuscript notes of the copy at the Bib. Nat. as meaning that it had been prepared with a view to the performance of this play.

(3) Cf. Migne, *P. G.*, CXVI, col. 275 ff. That he used Surius rather than the Greek version is shown by his writing the name Chursasadem as in the Latin and not as in the Greek, where the order of the *u* and the *r* is inverted. The name of the empress, Faustine, which is also her name in the tragedy by Poytevin to be discussed below, comes from some other source, for in Symeon and Surius it is Augusta.

(4) In the original it is Maxentius, but a note tells us that it should be Maximinus, for Maxentius ruled over the western empire.

(5) Their final speech is quoted in the *Bib. du th. fr.*, I, 494. For the legend cf. H. Varnhagen, *Zur Geschichte der Legende der Katherina von Alexandrien*, Erlangen, 1891. Karl Manger in *Die franz. Bearbeitungen der Legende der h. Katharina*

Boissin shows in this play little dramatic ability. He merely follows his source regardless of the lack of dramatic unity in the plot, with its repetitions and its introduction of such extraneous matter as the episodes of the empress and of Porphirio. The two chief persons are without *nuances*, as they are without doubts as to the correctness of their points of view. Consequently they have little that is dramatic in their rôles. As Boissin has told us that he omitted choruses, one may be surprised to find a "chœur de filles alexandrines" and a "chœur de femmes" who speak in lyric strophes, but they do not come at the end of the acts and are formed by persons who take part in the action, just as the angels do at the end of the play.

This subject was treated about the same time in a cruder, but more original play by E. Poytevin, whose *SAINTE CATHERINE*¹ was published at Paris by Mathurin Hénault in 1619 with a dedication to the queen. The same leading characters appear, but the emperor is made to be in love with Catherine and the drama begins after he has met her, though before her baptism. Half of the first two acts has thus no equivalent in Boissin's play. On the other hand, the material of Boissin's fifth act is missing here. Maximin consults Calpurne as to how to win Catherine and is advised to exterminate the Christians, and thus persuade her to give up her faith, though he knows that like Joad in *Athalie*

Elle croit en Iesus, et n'a point d'autre Dieu.

Catherine is next introduced, who, like Polyeucte at the beginning of Corneille's tragedy, desires to be baptized. She describes to her *nourrice* a dream in which she has overheard the following conversation between Jesus and Mary :

Pour quoy, ma chere mere, à ceste Egyptienne
Qui n'est point baptisée, et qui n'est point Chrestienne
Faictes-vous du plaisir ? Alors elle luy dict,
Mon cher enfant, mon cœur, et mon fils Iesus-Christ,
Pardonnez, s'il vous plaist, à la pauvre abusée :
Car elle vous promet d'estre tost baptisée.

The scene that follows belongs in a comedy and indeed an argument

von Alexandrien, Zweibrücken, 1901, mentions various French versions of the martyrdom and on pp. 30, 31 refers to Boissin's play, but, as he knows it only through secondary works, what he has to say makes no contribution to the subject.

(1) This play is omitted in the standard histories and dictionaries of the French stage. A copy is at the Arsenal, B. L. 10548.

advanced here is also found in *Twelfth Night* and in *les Femmes Savantes*. The queen, Catherine's mother, tells her that, as after death all are equal, she would do well to marry this " Roy qui souspire " while she can, for

Si i'eusse comme toy fuyant le mariage
Passé la plus grand part de la fleur de mon aage :
Où serois-tu pauvrette ?

The sacrifice to the gods now takes place. Maximin seizes the opportunity to praise Catherine's beauty and say to her :

Laisse ton Dieu là haut avecque son tonnerre,
Tandis que nous prendrons nos esbats sur la terre ¹.

If she will give up Christianity, he will make her his empress in place of Faustine. The theological argument that ensues ends by her calling him " Auorton de l'Enfer ". He threatens to torture her. The third act tells of the murder of Catherine's mother, the victory over the Persians under the command of King Sapor, and the order for Catherine's arrest. In the fourth act she rebukes the emperor and bids him return to Faustine, while he sends for wise men to argue with her. Meanwhile the empress is appealing to the gods of the lower world and trying to avenge herself by witchcraft; for she bids Porphyre deface a portrait of the emperor and bury it. The philosophers, Psametiche, Calcana, Scach Tamnaar, and Ptolomée, are condemned to be burned for allowing themselves to be defeated in argument and converted by " vne simple fille ". The last act is hurried and incomplete. Catherine refuses to yield, though she knows she must die for her refusal. The angel encourages her :

Quand ton esprit sera de ton corps séparé
Dans le ciel il prendra son beau lieu préparé.

The ending is abrupt and lacks the account of the martyrdom that is usually found in plays of this type. We are not told what becomes of the emperor, or why the Persians and Faustine's efforts at vengeance are introduced. The play is an immature production even for the period.

Boissin de Gallardon published with his other plays a second tragedy dealing with the death of a saint, *LE MARTYRE DE SAINT VINCENT*, which he dedicated to " Messieurs du venerable Chapitre

(1) Cf. below, p. 123.

de l'Eglise Cathedrale de Viuiers", among whom he had been residing. Here we find again the persecutor, Dacian, Governor of Spain under Diocletian and Maximian; the victim, Saint Vincent; and the weaker Christian, Saint Valère, Bishop of Saragossa. The latter is growing old and leaning more and more upon Vincent. As in the account given by the *Acta Sanctorum*¹ for Jan. 22, they are arrested, imprisoned, and starved until they are divinely nourished. When they appear before Dacian in good condition, he accuses the jailer of having fed them. Since Valère replies too gently, Vincent takes up the cudgels and tells Dacian when he gets no answer from his gods:

Tes Dieux sont endormis, ils n'ont ta voix ouye.

Despite his obvious imitation of Elijah, the governor has him tortured until "il s'est veu deschirer iusques dans les entrailles". In the third act Dacian tries to win Vincent by argument and entreaty, then by threats and tortures, ending in the order to place him in a dungeon whose floor is strewn with "tuilleaux faits en pointe et le roulez dessus". Angels appear in the fourth act and comfort Vincent, but predict his martyrdom. The soldiers who are guarding him awake, see the eerie light, and report to Dacian, who resorts to milder treatment and has Vincent placed in a bed. In the original he dies there, but Boissin prefers at this point to follow the story of Saint Lawrence, for, after more argument, his hero is placed on a gridiron and roasted to death. The executioners indulge in a ghastly sort of wit, referring to the gridiron as a "lict delectable" and making the same comment upon Vincent's prayer that he had made with reference to Dacian's:

Il fait la sourde escoute,
Prens courage ie vois ta graisse qui degoute.

Vincent's last words are equally felicitous:

Ie me sens suffoquer de ma graisse fumante...

The executioners prepare to throw the cooked flesh to wild animals. When Dacian learns that the latter have not eaten it as the body has been defended by a crow, he orders the remains cast

(1) For a medieval play on the same subject cf. Cohen, *Histoire de la mise en scène dans le théâtre religieux français du moyen âge*, Paris, Champion, 1926, pp. 76, 77.

into the sea, but shortly afterwards we learn that the corpse has come ashore and will be buried by Christians. However horrible these details may seem and however difficult of presentation on the stage, the concluding couplet shows that the play was written with performance in mind, for the Christians say to the audience :

Son bon plaisir soit tel, et vous donne Auditeurs
Ce que nous desirons pour nous autres Auteurs.

Here, as in the two preceding plays, the rigidity of the characters deprives the work of psychological interest. The internal action stands still after the second act, so that the play becomes a series of tortures, continued after the death of the victim. There is evidently little of value in this tragedy for the classical stage. *Sainte Agnès* contains all that writers of the next generation needed for imitation. The other tragedies are distinctly inferior to it and merely served to add bulk to the tradition that lives of saints could furnish material to French plays without necessitating a return to the medieval stage. This tradition was to be taken up by Baro and others and to reach its highest expression in Rotrou and Corneille.

IV. — Tragi-comedy

Tragi-comedy is still an omnium-gatherum for plays that did not answer to their authors' definition of tragedy, comedy, or farce. As these definitions vary with different authors, there is really no sharply defined distinction between the tragi-comedies of this period and plays of other genres. Indeed the author is at times in doubt as to how to classify his play, for *les Heureuses Infortunes* and *Philandre et Marisée* are referred to both as tragedies and as tragi-comedies. The term is applied to pieces that resemble medieval miracle and morality plays, to a sort of satirical comedy, to two farces, and to a few romantic plays which represent the type of tragi-comedy that was ultimately to prevail. The happy ending is found in all of them except *Philandre et Marisée* and even there the concluding passage, in which the wife welcomes her husband to a happier existence, may be introduced to show that the play conforms to the general usage of authors of tragi-comedies.

Prévost's *CLOTILDE*¹ differs from other plays of the period dealing with lives of saints in that the saint, while very important, is not the

(1) Analyzed in my *French Tragi-comedy*, pp. 91, 92.

protagonist and that there is no martyrdom. There is a certain amount of historical background, for the three leading persons did exist and some of the minor events did take place, but the chief theme, the saving of Clotilde's life in childbirth by Saint Léonard of Limousin is due to a legend that grew up centuries after the time of the persons about whom the play is written. According to his dedication, Prévost wrote the tragi-comedy at the request of a certain Chalart, bourgeois of Saint-Léonard, probably to be played on the saint's day by a local *confrérie*¹. It is not, like its author's tragedies, the adaptation to the stage of a classical myth, but, as we shall see, classical influence is not altogether lacking. The play begins after Clovis's conversion and his victory over Siagrius, Alaric, and the Burgundians. A discussion between him and his adviser, Sigibert, as to whether or not he should take over the land of the Visigoths is of some interest as an early example of the introduction of political ideas into the drama, but is out of place in the play, the plot of which has nothing to do with such questions. On the other hand, the introduction of Clotilde at the end of the first act and her reference to the good hermit of whom she would make a bishop show that the author understands dramatic technique better than many of his contemporaries. In the second act Clotilde, though "enceinte de huit mois", prevails upon her husband to allow her to accompany him upon a hunting expedition. In the third act a realistic scene is given that would have been excluded from a classical tragedy. It recalls a similar scene in the *Philarchie des dieux*. Clotilde, angered by her husband's leaving her and by the thought of possible difficulties with her stepson, Thierry, becomes dangerously ill. The following scene takes place between the queen and her *nourrice* :

	Pourquoy vous fâchés vous ? vous estes en danger Si ce courroux vous tient de vous endommager. Apaisez vous, Madame.
Clotilde :	Ah ! ie suis toutte esmeuë, Et sens contre mon gré que mon poux se remuë Plus fort que de coustume.
Nourrice :	Allons, madame, allons, Iesus ! elle tresbusche, et marche à reculons. Madame, hélas ! madame. Hé ! Dieu qu'on me suporte, Filles soustenez moy, tenez moy, ie suis morte.

A page, sent after Clovis, meets in the wood Saint Léonard, the

(1) Cf. Lanson, *op. cit.*, X, 224, 225.

hermit to whom the queen had referred, and tells him of the queen's condition. A physician tells Clovis that it is impossible to save Clotilde, though an operation may preserve the life of the child. Clovis thinks of suicide, while Clotilde, seeing death approach, expresses herself in lines borrowed from Euripides ¹ :

Je voy le vaisseau prest, et le nocher Charon
Qui tient la perche en main pour passer l'Acheron
J'entends comme il m'appelle, et comme des la rive
Il me tance, et me dict que ie suis trop tardive.

But the saint arrives and reproves Clotilde and Clovis for referring to the Styx, Pluto, and Proserpine. They repent and pray to God. In the last act we learn from the physician, who shows no professional jealousy, that Saint Léonard has delivered the queen and healed her. Clovis now seeks to reward the holy man, but he refuses to accept anything until a deputation of Manceaux comes in search of him and informs Clovis that the saint is related to him, whereupon Léonard consents to accept as much land as he can mark off in a night so that his friends, the Manceaux, may have a place where they can live, they and their descendants,

Affranchis pour iamais de tributs et d'impos.

Clovis calls the enclosure " Franchise " and the settlers' city Noblac. Léonard, in return, predicts a great future for France, making special mention of the crusades and of Joan of Arc.

Perhaps Chalart had asked Prévost to write the play in order to keep alive the beneficent tradition that no taxes were to be paid by the descendants of those who founded Noblac. It is significant that this detail is not in the *Golden Legend*, although the story of the saint there given ² corresponds in many respects with Prévost's version. From Gregory of Tours he could have derived the account of Clovis's wars and the reference to his illegitimate son; from the *Golden Legend* the introduction of the saint's friends at the end of the play, though his Manceaux appear there as seven families of relatives. The play lacks unity, especially because of the introduction

(1) Cf. *Alceste*, ll. 252-256. Racine translates the Greek verses in the preface to his *Iphigénie* as follows :

Je vois déjà la rame et la barque fatale.
J'entends le vieux nocher sur la rive infernale
Impatient il crie : " On t'attend ici-bas ;
Tout est prêt, descends, viens, ne me retarde pas. "

(2) Cf. Jacques de Voragine, *la Légende dorée*, translated by the abbé J.-B. M. Roze, Paris, Rouveyre, 1902, III, 193-195.

of extraneous material into the first act and the shifting of interest from Clotilde to the saint in the last. It also is lacking in action. Indeed the subject, probably imposed upon the author, does not contain enough material for a five-act play, unless treated by a more imaginative dramatist than Prévost.

François Auffray¹ wrote a pious and pedantic play called *Zoanthropie*² which introduces nineteen abstractions endowed with Greek names³. It was dedicated to the Cardinal de Bousy, Bishop of Béziers. The prologue shows that it was written to be acted, probably in a school or at some religious assembly. The most interesting thing about it is the form of its verse, which is remarkably varied. While the greater portion of it is in alexandrines, the prologue and parts of II, 5, IV, 2, 4 are in eight-syllable verse and the concluding lines of V, 5 are in verse of six syllables. The prayer of IV, 2 is an early example of the lyric monologue, which will subsequently be called "stances". As one would expect from the names of the characters, the play is full of classical allusions, but one is surprised to find also comic and even vulgar lines, an echo scene (V, 7) in imitation of the pastoral, and an "air plaintif" (IV, 4) with a refrain. An amusing appreciation of man occurs in IV, 2 :

Ce n'est qu'ordure en sa naissance,
Ampoule et ballon plein de vent,
Rosty, bouilly, et vray substance,
Des vers hostes du monument.

The titles of three other tragi-comedies of a religious nature are known. They were played by schoolboys, but they have not been preserved. The first, the subject of which was the purification of the temple at Jerusalem, was given at Valenciennes, Sept. 22, 1613⁴. The second, called *l'Empereur Henry et Kunégonde* was presented at Malines in 1616⁵. The subject of the play must have been

(1) A "Gentilhomme Breton, chanoine de l'église cathédrale de S. Brieux", as he is called on the title page of his tragi-comedy, he translated hymns and the maxims of Saint Gregory of Nazianzen. Cf. Colletet, *Traité de la poésie morale*, Paris, Sommaville, 1657, pp. 187-188.

(2) Paris, David Gilles, 1614, 8°, and Rouen, Manassez de Préaulx, 1615, 8°. There is a copy of the first edition at the Arsenal, B. L. 10930.

(3) It is analyzed in my *French Tragi-comedy*, p. 86. The virtues and vices fight over Anthrope, who is induced by Cupid to love Zoé ("La vie humaine") and is attacked by Asthénée ("L'infirmité vieux sorcier"), but is finally rescued by Metanoée ("La Pénitence") and married to Aïdie ("La Vie éternelle"). Zoé is left lamenting the loss of her lover, while the vices quarrel and the virtues discuss immortality.

(4) Cf. Lanson, *op. cit.*, X, 225.

(5) Cf. Faber, *op. cit.*, I, 40. A synopsis of the play, containing only eight pages, was printed at Antwerp in 1616.

the testing by fire of the wife of the emperor Henry II. She took a vow of chastity, was accused of adultery and made to walk barefooted on red-hot iron ¹. The fact that she stood the test would give the play the happy ending characteristic of tragi-comedies. The third production is entitled *Daphnis, célébrant l'ascension du Christ*. Written by D. Candide, professor of rhetoric, it was acted, with musical accompaniment, before Saint François de Sales on May 27, 1618 ².

A play of a very different character, with a theme of the earth earthy, but far more entertaining than those we have been studying, is L'ÉPHÉSIENNE ³, long attributed to Pierre Brinon. It was first assigned to him, as far as I have been able to discover, by Beauchamps in 1735, over a century after the play was printed. He did not get his suggestion from the tragi-comedy itself, for it appeared absolutely anonymously. The person who wrote in ink on the fly-leaf of the copy at the Bib. Nat. that it was by Brinon refers to Pont-de-Vesle and consequently must have put the note there after 1846. The *privilege* of July 1, 1614, is silent about the author, but gives us a clue about the attribution. It was made out for two tragedies, "l'une intitulée *Baptiste ou la Calomnie* traduite de Buchanan et l'autre l'*Ephésienne*" ⁴. Some one must have concluded from this that the two plays were written by the same man. *Baptiste* ⁵ is, however, as anonymous as *l'Ephésienne*. To determine the authorship of it we have only the evidence that Brinon translated another of Buchanan's tragedies, his *Jephtes* ⁶. It is, of course, quite possible that, if he translated one, he translated the other, though it is by no means certain that he did so, but even if he did, the fact that the publisher obtained a *privilege* for *Baptiste* and *l'Ephésienne* at the same time proves nothing whatsoever about the

(1) Cf. *Acta Sanctorum* for March, I, 267.

(2) Cf. Lanson, *op. cit.*, X, 227.

(3) Rouen, Jean Osmont, 1614.

(4) As I showed in my *French Tragi-Comedy*, p. 173, a careless reading of this phrase led the person who attributed the play to Brinon in the copy at the Bib. Nat. to state that *l'Ephésienne*, like *Baptiste*, was a translation of Buchanan. His error has been preserved in the catalogue of printed books of that library, although Buchanan never wrote a play on that subject and the author of *l'Ephésienne* tells us that Petronius was his source.

(5) *Baptiste ou la calomnie, tragédie traduite du Latin de Buchanan*, Rouen, Jean Osmont, 1613; also 1614 according to *Soleinne*, n° 466. Similarly the *Triomphe des Dames*, a sort of sermon published by the same printer in 1599, is attributed to Pierre Brinon in the catalogue of the Bib. Nat., though the work appeared anonymously.

(6) Cf. *frères Parfaict*, IV, 175; *Bib. du th. fr.*, III, 241; *Soleinne*, 1 sup., n° 53, 2 sup., n° 61. The translation is entitled "Jephté ou le Vœu, tragédie traduite du latin de Buchanan par Pierre Brinon, Conseiller du Roy en sa Cour du Parlement de Normandie". It was published at Rouen by Jean Osmont, 1614, 12°.

authorship of the latter play. There is, then, no reason to accept the attribution and there is a good deal of evidence against Brinon's having written it, for it is superior to most plays of the time and must have been written by some one of considerable talent for dramatic composition, not by a man like Brinon, who limited his efforts for the theater to translations. Moreover there is reason to believe that it was written by another man.

I have discovered that a passage in *l'Ephésienne* reappears in slightly altered form in Mainfray's *Cyrus*. Is it a case of imitation or of repetition? Let us compare the two passages:

L'Ephésienne, III : Et puis suyez la Cour ! faites service aux grands !
 Donnez à leurs plaisirs vostre force et vos ans !
 Embrassez leurs desseins d'un zele tout extremes !
 Méprisez vos amys ! méprisez-vous vous-mesme !
 Courez mille hazards pour leur ambition !
 A la premiere humeur, la moindre impression
 Qu'ils prendront contre vous, vous voila hors de grace,
 Et cela seulement tous vos bien-faits efface.

Cyrus, IV, 1 : Et puis suyez la Cour, asseurez vous aux grands,
 Formez vous à leurs mœurs, passez en vain vos ans,
 Cherissez leur party d'un desir tout extremes,
 Abhorrez vos parens, méprisez vous vous mesme,
 Risquez mille perils suivant leur passion
 A la premiere humeur la moindre impression,
 Qu'ils imagineront, vous voilà hors de grace ;
 Et ce petit dédain vos merites efface.

The thought, the rimes, and over half the words are identical. The author of the second passage must have had the first before him when he wrote it. Now such an example of borrowing from a contemporary work in the same language is very unusual, while it is quite common for an author to repeat himself, to use over again the lines of an older play he had himself composed. Mainfray made just such changes when he employed for his *Rhodienne*, II, 2¹, a passage he had already published in his *Cyrus*. He was, moreover, like Brinon, a native of Rouen, where *l'Ephésienne* was printed, but, unlike him, he wrote several plays. It appears, then, that Mainfray certainly knew and made use of *l'Ephésienne*, that, though it has not been proved that he wrote it, it is not improbable that he did, that at any rate there is more reason for assigning the play to him than to Brinon or any one else.

(1) Cf. below, the discussion of this tragedy.

Whoever its author was, the work is well worth studying, for, both in structure and in psychological interest, it is one of the best plays of the period. The theme, despite its gruesome aspects, is one for comedy, even for farce, and the author adds comic lines that have no equivalent in the original. On the whole, however, his treatment is serious. One is not surprised to find him using his chorus to point the moral. Petronius's story of the Ephesian widow is his source¹. The somewhat meager outline given in the original version is well filled in by the French dramatist, the characters receive names and are increased in number. The statement that the widow could be comforted for the loss of her husband neither by "parentes" nor by a "magistratus" suggests the introduction of scenes in which Sarxe and Cosme, "parens de la Vefue", and Dicasté "le magistrat" seek to dissuade her, as does her servant, from her purpose of shutting herself up in her husband's tomb. The governor of the city is brought in so that we may be told how necessary it is to have strict laws against pirates, and the soldier who is made to guard the body of the pirate, hanging on a gallows not far from the tomb of the heroine's husband, is given a more definite personality than in the original. Most important is the development of the scenes that show the widow's gradual change of heart. In Petronius she is won at the first meeting, though several days elapse before the corpse is taken from the gallows, while here an additional day is devoted to the seduction, which is followed in less time by the removal of the body. This shows the French author's interest both in proper psychological development and in dramatic concentration. The steps of the widow's course are carefully indicated. In preparation for what is to follow, her servant, Télème, advises her to remarry, but the faithful widow replies :

Il ne sera point dit que iamaïs Astasie
Non, qui luy donneroit le Sceptre de l'Asie
Ait oublié celuy qu'elle auoit eu si cher ;
Pour luy ie veux fuir et le monde et la chair,
Et sa triste demeure à mes plaisirs éleuë
Sera le lieu fatal de ma mort resoluë.

When Frontin, the soldier, first meets her, she receives him politely, but is still determined to die :

Pour moy, que les Destins si fort veulent charger
Que rien que le trespas ne me peut soulager...

(1) *Satyricon*, CXII. For works in French on the same subject cf. H. Regnier, *Œuvres de J. de La Fontaine*, Paris, Hachette, 1890, VI, 66, 67.

He is driven off by the approach of dawn and the servant grasps the opportunity to renew her pleadings and urge her mistress to give up her intention of following her husband into the next world. Astasie now takes her first step away from despair and agrees to consult Frontin about her future :

Certes il [Frontin] m'a payé de raisons a suffire,
Et tant a peu sur moy ce qu'il m'a voulu dire
Que si i'oublie en fin ces lieux et ma douleur,
De luy seul ie tiendray ma vie et mon bon-heur.

The next night Frontin again urges her to console herself. She consents at least to eat :

Les raisons de Frontin et ton aduis Tèlème,
Que ie n'estime moins que d'une autre moy-mesme,
Pourroient-ils bien assez sur ma fragilité
Pour me faire oublier mon dessein arrêté !
Oüy, qui faut par conseil est réputé bien faire ;
Baille donc que ie mange afin de te complaire.
Ha, que c'est chose douce à vn corps affamé
D'avoir dequoy manger !

Frontin : Plus douce d'estre aimé

A vn cœur qui languit recuit de mille flames !

Astasie : Mais est-il vray Frontin qu'on aime tant les femmes ?

They talk of love. She accuses him of laughing at her. He swears devotion and offers marriage.

Astasie : Je ne peux refuser cét honneur desirable
De plus dignes que moy l'auroient bien agreable :
Le bon-heur m'a voulu que perdant mon tresor,
Vn autre m'est offert plus precieux encor :
L'accepte ce party, et promets pour revange
Vne foy qui iamais ne cognoistra de change.

She now deplores her lack of beauty. She is

Plus propre aux Chirurgiens pour vne anatomie,
Qu'à vn homme amoureux pour estre son amie.

This gives Tèlème opportunity for an obscene comparison, which elicits from Astasie the comment :

Je pense que Tèlème est en humeur de rire.

He now begs her to give him at once the privileges of a husband. She is somewhat shocked, argues, but presently yields :

Vous me percez le cœur doux soucy de ma vie ;
 Le mal que vous souffrez et non pas mon enuie
 Fait que ie condescens à vostre passion.

Up to this point she has never proposed a departure from her plan of sacrificing herself to her husband's memory, but has merely yielded to the arguments of Télème and Frontin. In the last act she goes farther and takes the initiative herself. At the beginning of the act the pirates come and take down the body of their chief. Frontin enters, finds the body gone, and curses his bad fortune. Astasie hears him, questions him, and, learning that he may be put to death, makes the following proposition :

Si nulle autre douleur vostre esprit ne possède
 Frontin embrassez moy, ie sçay bien vn remede
 Par lequel vous pourrez amendant ce mal-heur
 Du seuere Calepe éuiter la fureur.
 Tirons de ce sepulchre en toute diligence
 Le mort que i'ay pleuré pour mettre à la potence
 Où pendoit celui-là que lon vous a osté ;
 Car puis que mon Destin veut cette extremité
 Que de deux corps aimez ie perde l'un ou l'autre,
 Celuy de mon mary ià deffunct, ou le vostre,
 Pour ne perdre le vif que le Ciel m'a rendu
 Je bailleray le mort qui m'est desia perdu ¹ :
 Ce seroit trop manquer d'amour et de courage
 Si pour me conseruer vn si precieux gage,
 Vn homme si vaillant, si parfait, et si beau,
 Je n'osoy hazarder vn reste de tombeau ;
 Vn corps desia reelant d'infecte pourriture,
 Incapable à iamais des deuoirs de nature.

A last touch is added when she executes the plan herself :

Prenez par là Frontin, et nous deux par ici,
 Nous le souleuerons ; vous aurez le souci
 De l'attacher au nœud qui reste à la potence,
 Courbez luy bien la teste afin que chacun pense
 Que c'est le mesme corps que lon y auoit mis.

Whereas La Fontaine merely states that the widow consented to her servant's plan and Petronius has her, though inventing the scheme, leave its execution to the soldier, the author of the play makes his heroine conceive the plan, indicate the manner in which

(1) Or, as Petronius puts it, " malo mortuum impendere, quam vivum occidere ". La Fontaine's celebrated " Mieux vaut goujat debout qu'Empereur enterré " is not spoken by the widow.

it is to be carried out, and take part in it herself. This " courbez luy bien la teste " is priceless ! The character of Frontin is also well drawn. Especially noteworthy is the sympathy he expresses for the dead pirate, for which there is no equivalent in the original.

The play has essential unity, the material is well distributed among the acts, the psychological action progresses steadily with a proper use of preparation and suspense. The dénouement is brought about skilfully from the point of view of both plot and satire. While the style lacks the concentration of La Fontaine, there are lines in the final chorus that make us think of him :

Astasie cruelle en son incontinence
Afin de cacher son forfait
Déterre son mary, le met à la potence,
Et dit encor que c'est bien fait.

There is, however, no evidence that La Fontaine knew the play.

While certain elements of *l'Ephésienne* point forward to the classical theater, there are others that connect it with the older drama. Although time and place are restricted, there is complete unity in neither, for the action covers at least 48 hours and takes place both within Ephesus and outside of it. The proprieties are, of course, utterly disregarded. The dead pirate hanging on the gallows and the dead husband brought by his widow to replace him would certainly not have been tolerated on the stage 25 years later. Moreover, the lovers eat in our presence and the language is occasionally vulgar. A chorus at the end of each act, including the last, is unconnected with the action except that it comments upon it. There is an excess of classical allusion. A long Homeric simile in the second act is interesting, but out of place :

Comme on voit en Hyuer la Gruë passagere
De ses commoditez prudente mesnagere
Quand des mers du Leuant cerchant le Nort glacé
Dessus la mer Maior son vol elle a dressé :
Avant que de tenter sa perilleuse route
Au destroit de Conarque elle se remplit toute
De sable et de grauiers, puis balance son corps
Essayant s'il pourra resister aux efforts
Du vent dont cette mer est souuent agitée
Et iamais des marchands sans danger traictée :
Se sentant assez forte, elle se donne au vent
Et forme vn escadron en pointe par deuant,
Serré sur les costez, et large par derriere
Pour mieux fendre des vents la rigueur coustumiere

Vous la voyez en l'air tantost parer du flanc,
 Tantost montrer le front sans sortir de son rang,
 Tant que par industrie et force mesurée
 Elle gaigne à la fin la terre désirée ¹.

The play is not, then, without a flavor of the sixteenth century, but new wine has been poured into this old bottle. The fact that it exerted no influence is probably due to the gruesome nature of the subject.

Another tragi-comedy that would have given pleasure to La Fontaine is the *RÉBELLION OU MESCONTENTEMENT DES GRENOUILLES CONTRE JUPITER* ². It is the dramatization of the familiar fable, based, according to the author, on Æsop and written to show that we must obey the king given us by Heaven. As this conservative moral is contained in most versions of the tale, it is difficult to say from which of them the plot was derived, but it was probably from one in which the punisher of the frogs is a bird rather than the serpent found in Phædrus and other early fabulists ³. Haudent and the *Fabulae Gualterianae*, however, have a stork. It seems probable that the bird-king was changed in the play to a kite under the influence of the fable of the doves and the kite, which usually follows that of the frogs and has much the same moral.

The tragi-comedy has only four acts. In the first the frogs, remembering Homer's account of their victory over the rats, their delivering the Hebrews from persecution in Egypt, and other titles to distinction, decide to take arms and scale Olympus; in the second they carry out this plan, are received by Jupiter and promised a king, though some of the other gods desire to destroy them at once; in the third, dissatisfied with King Log, they return to Olympus and are promised another sovereign; in the fourth they go a third time to Jupiter and protest against the kite that he has given them, but he orders them home, bidding them not complain of what befalls them:

(1) Cf. Pliny, *Natural History*, X, chap. 23, and Aristotle, *History of Animals*, VIII, 12. Pliny is the immediate source, for he declares that cranes swallow sand for ballast, while Aristotle denies it. Pliny also remarks that they cross the Euxine at its narrowest point (*angustias petere*), which the author of the play interprets as straits, although the reference is to the portion of the sea between the southern point of the Crimea and Cape Carambis in Asia Minor, where it is about a hundred miles wide. He may also have been misled by Strabo, II, 5, 22, for he speaks of that part of the Black Sea as if it were very narrow.

(2) Rouen, Abraham Cousturier, 12°, probably published about 1612-1614 like other anonymous plays studied at the beginning of this chapter.

(3) Cf. Hervieux, *Fabulistes latins*, Vols. I, II, Paris, Didot, 1893, 1894.

Car les Roys que ie mets pour regir les mortels,
 Sont entre les mortels des Cesars immortels :
 Sont mes Oingts, mes mignons, qui sortis de ma race,
 Ont ma sainte grandeur empreinte sur la face :
 Ainsi (quiconque soit) n'obeit à son Roy,
 Et se va reuoltant, s'esleue countre moy.

It was chiefly for this passage, it seems, that the play was written. There is little attempt at individual characterization. The frogs are made to appear boastful when alone, cowering in the presence of Jupiter, and ineffective under all conditions. They represent the mob as viewed by an aristocrat. The gods who attend Jupiter make up a seventeenth century court and are even more overbearing than their master, though he treats the frogs much as Louis XIV would have treated a deputation of peasants a half-century after the play was written. There is a curious passage in the third act that throws light on popular medicine of the time. *Dis-corde* thinks frogs far better dead than alive, for

leurs cuisses de derriere
 Sert aux Grands dans leur Cour quelquefois d'ordinaire,
 D'auantage leurs corps cuits en huyle et en sel,
 Rejettent des Serpents le venin et le fiel :
 Leur cendre mesmement le flux de sang arreste,
 Fait reuenir le poil à l'entour de la teste,
 Guerit du mal des dents, bref, font plus de bien morts
 Qu'ils ne font en criant dedans leurs Paluz ords.

The longest of these plays and the one that best exemplifies the definition of a tragi-comedy as a dramatized romance is *LES HEUREUSES INFORTUNES* of Bernier de la Brousse, which appeared in 1618, though it was probably written several years before¹. It is divided into two *journées* of five acts each and is an adaptation of the story of Apollonius. The author tells us that he owes nothing to Belleforest, whose version he had read only after completing his own, which he derived from a manuscript copy of the *Gesta Romanorum*². There is no evidence that Shakespeare's *Pericles*, which has the same subject and was first played in 1608, exerted any influence upon it. As I showed in my *French Tragi-comedy*³, the play is made up of four themes, the incestuous relations of Antioque and his daughter (1j., I-II, 2), the marriage of Apollonie (1j., II, 3-5), the story of the

(1) It was published with his *Embryon romain*. Cf. above, the discussion of that play.

(2) It is found in chapter 153 of Oesterley's edition, Berlin, 1872.

(3) Pp. 120, 121, where there is an analysis of the plot.

latter's daughter (2*j.*, I-IV), and his reunion with his wife (2*j.*, V). Each *journée* covers several months, while a period of fifteen years elapses between them. The places represented are Antioch, Tarsus, the Pentapolis, Mytilene, and Ephesus. The details of the story are followed in the main, though some are omitted and others developed. As the play begins after incestuous relations have been established between Antioque and his daughter, no struggle is described. The king glories in his crime and defies the gods :

De leur feu, de leur fer, mon cœur n'a nul soucy
Qu'ils commandent au ciel, moy ie commande icy !¹

He feels no remorse. After the duc d'Apamée has perished for not guessing the riddle and Apollonie has divined the answer to it, Antioque expresses himself in forceful language :

Il a leu dans mon ame, et tiré de mon cœur
Le doux amour, qui fait que ie ne ~~ois~~ qu'en peur..
Tonnez, bruyez, sonnez, dieux et Cieux irritez
Malgré vous iouissant de ces rares beautez
Cloris mienne sera, et cest Apollonie
Verra par son trespas ma cholere finie.

Cloris, on the other hand, does feel guilty and blames her nurse, much as Phèdre blames Cénone :

	Tay-toy miserable
	Oste-toy de mes yeux.
Zilide :	He ! Madame, escoutez.
Cloris :	Si tu dis vn seul mot.
Zilide :	Bons dieux.
Cloris :	Vous marmotez.
	Fuy d'icy faux Aspic, fuy langue venimeuse.
	Ie ne puis escouter ta parole charmeuse,
	I'ay horreur de ton vice, et d'oüir derechef
	Le recit du malheur qui menace mon chef.

The passage may have been inspired by Euripides, *Hippolytus*, ll.681-709, for there is no equivalent in the *Gesta Romanorum*. On the other hand, Bernier imitates his main source when he gives us Allistrate's amusing praise of Apollonie, who, disguised as a bath-rubber,

M'a si bien essuyé, que iamais dans la Grece
Aux jeux d'isthme ou d'Elide on ne trouua garçon,
Qui oignist ou frotast de si docte façon.

(1) Cf. Mairét, *Chryséide*, ll. 1005, 1006, and Du Ryer, *Arétaphile*, II, 1.

The first *journée* ends with an *hors d'œuvre*, a scene in which a fisherman who had helped Apollonie and been forgotten by him is comforted by Roméo, captain of the king's guards. In the original the corresponding passage is at the end of the story and there is no mention of anyone with the interesting name of Roméo.

The *seconde journée* opens with a scene between the husband and wife to whom Apollonie's daughter, Tharsie, has been entrusted. The wife argues that on account of their poverty they must kill the girl and take her possessions. In the *Gesta* the man consents readily, but here he holds out for some time, making a dramatic situation. A realistic scene that recalls *Sainte Agnès* is II, 2, which takes place in a brothel. In both these cases the dialogue is well handled, but they are exceptional and much of the play is in long monologues and *récits*. Various social classes are represented. Some variety is also shown in the form. The play contains several songs (1 j., III, 1, V, 1). A stanza will illustrate their form :

Je veux que pour ce bien-fait
Te soit fait
Des nostre abord en Phenice,
Vn sacrifice pompeux,
De cent bœufs,
Et d'une blanche iénice.

The play has, then, a good deal that is interesting, but the author has undertaken too much and scatters our interest over too many characters and events. It was the reaction against this type of tragi-comedy that did much to bring about the acceptance of the classical system.

Another dramatized romance is the *AMOURS DE PHILANDRE ET MARISÉE* by Gilbert Giboin, "harpeur, arithmétique et maître escriuain en la ville de Molins en Bourbonnois"¹. Its source is the novel of the same name by Nervèze², as the author hints in an extraordinary statement, found in his *Au Lecteur* and worthy of the style of his model :

Amy Lecteur, l'esperance que j'ay, que tu ne soubstrairas le theatre de ton loisir, du silence de ceste Tragedie, m'a fait esclorre les roses de ce subject parmy les rudes espines de mon incapacité, non en intention de molester ton iugement (si ce n'est qu'il releue et prenne source de la censure) ; ains pour te depeindre vn tableau,

(1) Lyons, J. Gautherin, 1619 ; *priv.*, July 19.

(2) Published by P. Symonet at Marseilles in 1598. Cf. Brunet, *s. v.*, and G. Reynier, *le Roman sentimental avant l'Astrée*, Paris, A. Colin, 1908, pp. 343, 344. The latter shows that the novel was the source of the play. It is analyzed in my *French Tragi-comedy*, pp. 123, 124, and in the *Bib. du th. fr.*, I, 524, 525.

dont le naturel est réservé au Cabinet du sieur de Nerueze, et dans lequel tu peux voir au vif les différentes amours de Philandre.

The play is dedicated to Honoré d'Urfé. In this dedication it is called " ce jeu tragique " and in the *Au Lecteur* " ceste Tragedie ", but the title-page, *privilege*, and running headings classify it as a tragi-comedy. The hesitation must be due to the fact that the death of the hero and heroine is required in order to bring them to final happiness ¹. It is full of affectation, bombast, and erudition. The monologues are crowded with classical allusions in the manner of Seneca. The vocabulary is antiquated. A chorus is found at the end of each act except the last. There is no unity, for the action of the play covers more than thirty years, taking place in Scotland, Provence, and southwestern France, and the episodes are loosely bound together, the first three acts constituting a romantic drama, the last two a tragedy in which the main theme is the murder of children by their parents. In this latter portion of the play there is nothing comic, but in the earlier acts comic passages can be found, notably when two " archers " go off to drink and compare the flow of the liquid in the throat to a quartette in action :

Le Tymbre marmitier d'un glou glou rend sa Basse ;
Le dessus d'un glic glic, qui tout autre surpasse ;
L'Haute-contre d'un gloc ; et le Tenor d'un glouc,
Et tous pesle-meslez disent, gloc, glic, glou, glouc.

In the fifth act the cries of hunters are reproduced :

Tirnalet, ho thay, tay, hou, deçà, Volant, Thay...

A little realism is also attempted in the scene in which the children are killed, but it is obscured by their strange desire for death. The

(1) Encouraged by Destin, Philandre goes to Avignon and wins the consent of the Sieur d'Amblay to his marriage to his daughter, Marisée. He is obliged to leave before the wedding in order to secure a fortune of 7000 ducats left him by an uncle at Nîmes. The girl's father dies and her uncle promises her in marriage to a wealthy man of fifty. In order to prevent this union, the lovers elope to Scotland, where we see them ten years later, reduced to poverty. Philandre sets out for Provence with his oldest child, Fleury, taking along a diamond his wife has given him, but he falls in love with another woman and seeks in a " forest des Landes " to murder his son, who is rescued by hunters. Philandre escapes, but in his absence is condemned to be beheaded and burned. Fleury is to inherit his goods and go on a pilgrimage to thank " Marie à Lorette " for his preservation. Twenty years later he sets out, meets his father, turned hermit, forgives and embraces him. Meanwhile the scene has shifted back to Scotland, where Marisée, hearing from her uncle that Philandre has deserted her, decides to kill her children and herself. After their death, she and the three children appear at the bedside of her husband. She tells him he must die in order to join them. He takes her advice and their spirits are united.

most extraordinary passage is the final one, in which the dialogue between the dying Philandre and his wife's spirit is written in such a way that the initial letters of the last thirteen lines spell the name of the author !

The only other plays of the period that bear the title of tragi-comedy are two that are really farces and will be discussed in the section devoted to that genre. On the other hand mention should be made here of the lost play that Racan, in a letter of Oct. 17, 1654, declares that he saw performed in his "grande jeunesse", but it is by no means certain that it appeared later than 1610. Racan's statement would be taken to mean that he attended the performance when he was a child except that he refers, as we shall see, to his *Bergeries* as a work of his youth, though it must have been written about 1620. It runs thus :

Je vous confesse qu'en ma plus grande jeunesse je ne pouvois souffrir que l'on fist paroître Alceste faisant l'amour à la fille du roy son maître, et se résoudre à l'enlever après en avoir été refusé ; que l'on le fist voir, au second, dans une forest, en habit de charbonnier, avec sa nouvelle épouse ; qu'il parust, au troisième acte, un fils âgé de quatorze ou quinze ans, provenu de ce mariage, qui alloit au marché, et qui, au lieu d'acheter du pain et de la viande pour les nécessitez de leur famille, achetast des épées, des plumes et des baudriers ; qu'au quatrième acte ce même enfant témoignast son courage dans les armées, et qu'au cinquième, pour dénouer l'intrigue, il se fist reconnoître digne de sa naissance, et ramenast son père et sa mère aux pieds de son grand-père obtenir leur grâce.

Racan then comments upon the great irregularity of the play, which, nevertheless, was considered "une des plus pathétiques de ce temps-là". He refers to it as a tragi-comedy and makes it almost certain that it was acted at the Hôtel de Bourgogne¹. M. Roy² thinks that the play may have been the work of Hardy, but there is nothing to show that it was, for the fact that Racan was much interested, when a page, by Hardy's plays does not prove that these were the only ones he saw. Nor can I accept M. Roy's statement that the lost play was based on a novel by Des Escuteaux, *les admirables faits d'armes d'Alceste*, published in 1613, for a recent examination³ reveals the fact that the two accounts have in common only the name of the hero. The drama evidently belongs to the same category as other romantic tragi-comedies in which a child, born after the play begins,

(1) For Racan's letter cf. Tenant de Latour's edition of his works, Paris, Janet, 1857, I, 357-359.

(2) Cf. his *Charles Sorel*, Paris, Hachette, 1891, pp. 179, 368.

(3) By one of my students, Miss Helen B. Wilcox. A play of a similar nature is mentioned by d'Aubignac (*Pratique du théâtre*, ed. of Martino, Paris, Champion, 1927, pp. 117, 118) as seen by him in the time of Hardy.

becomes old enough to take an important part in it before it ends, such as *les Heureuses Infortunes*, *Philandre et Marisée*, and Hardy's lost *Pandoste*. Most plays belonging to the genre covered a much less considerable extent of time, but these productions seem to have been typical in other respects of the kind of tragi-comedy that ultimately became most popular, for they possess a romantic subject, which is neither religious nor, to any large extent, comic, and an irregular structure. They must have been of assistance to Hardy and later writers in fixing upon tragi-comedy its most permanent characteristics.

V. — Pastoral

For the pastoral of this and other periods the chief source of information is M. Marsan's important *Pastorale dramatique en France*¹, in which he indicates the origin and development of the genre, as we have seen in a preceding chapter. He discusses at considerable length the pastorals of Chrestien des Croix, Isaac Du Ryer, Troterel, etc. I will indicate briefly his conclusions in regard to these plays² and add to them whatever seems necessary. But first a word about a play that he hardly mentions³.

It is L'AMOUR DESPLUMÉ OU LA VICTOIRE DE L'AMOUR DIVIN, "pastorale chrestienne de l'inuention de I. M.⁴ Boulenois", an allegorical play typifying the struggle between "l'Amour divin" and "l'Amour mondain", or Cupid. The action centers round a magic spring, which brings those who drink of its waters into the power of "l'Amour divin". This divinity and Cupid cast spells upon it in turn, which produce corresponding alterations in the affections of shepherds and shepherdesses. Cloris spurns the love of Claricée in an effort to win that of Francine, who prefers to retire from the world. Subsequently Cloris drinks at the spring and also renounces the flesh. A satyr, repelled by Claricée, turns her into a rock, which metamorphosis is followed by that of her lover, Doris, and of his father. Finally a struggle between the two powers in the presence of the "Suprême Puissance" results in the victory of "l'Amour

(1) Paris, Hachette, 1905.

(2) I omit the *Isabelle* of Paul Ferry and the *Théocris* of Troterel as they were probably acted before the death of Henri IV.

(3) P. 298.

(4) Jean Moucque, according to his signature to a quatrain and sonnet dedicating the play to M. de Hafringues, though the name is given as Mouqué by the *Bib. du th. fr.* and Marsan. There is a copy at the Arsenal, B. L. 11348. It was published at Paris by Charles Chappelain, 8°.

divin" and the condemnation of Cupid, who is to be *desplumé* and thrown into a dungeon. By sprinkling water on the rocks the victor brings back to life the metamorphosed persons. The shepherds and shepherdesses then join in a hymn with the pagan refrain, "Io Pean ! Io Victoire ! ¹ " The play is, however, far from being pagan. Its Christian, or rather monastic inspiration is obvious, though a quatrain published at the end suggests that it was written to be acted before an audience that included women :

AUX DAMES.

L'Amour est captif en prison
Belles ne craignez plus ses fleches
Ny son brandon, ny ses flameches
Il est flumé comme vn Oyson.

This pastoral is not unlike two plays of the same genre by Hardy. It portrays in common with his *Amour victorieux* the indifference of a shepherdess to her lover, followed by a reversal of rôles under supernatural influence. As in his *Triomphe d'amour* the dénouement is brought about by divinities who represent two types of love. Satyrs, metamorphoses, and enchanted springs are found in many pastorals. The latter motif will be met again in *Cléonice*, that of a shepherdess who retires from the world in Racan's *Bergeries* and in Troterel's *Pasithée*.

A much more important pastoral was written by Nicolas Chrestien sieur des Croix ². It is the *AMANTES OU LA GRANDE PASTORALE, enrichie de plusieurs belles et rares inuentions et releuee d'intermedes Heroyques à l'honneur des François*, which was printed at Rouen by Raphael du Petit-Val in 1613, 12°, with a dedication to the young king. As there are allusions to the latter in the *intermèdes*, it was certainly written after he came to the throne. While keeping much that is conventional and superannuated, the pastoral brings new elements into the genre of very considerable importance. "Ce souci moral, ce goût des subtilités métaphysiques, ces préoccupations nationales", writes M. Marsan, "autant de traits qui nous éloignent des premières pastorales françaises, rappellent le roman de Monte-

(1) An analysis is given in the *Bib. du th. fr.*, I, 443-446. Though quite detailed, it makes no reference to the echo, the reënchantment of the waters, or the method by which the satyr's victims are restored to life.

(2) A Norman from Argentan and a friend of the dramatists, Montreux, Billard, and Génétay, he wrote a few poems mentioned by Lachèvre (*Bib. Rec.*, I, 146-147, and *Rec. Seiz.*, pp. 129, 131, 261), but is better known as the author of four plays published at Rouen in 1608, *Albouin*, which had already appeared as *Rosemonde* in 1603, *Amnon et Thamar*, *les Portugais infortunés*, discussed above, and *le Ravisement de Céphale*, a translation of Chiabrera.

mayor et marquent, à ses débuts, l'influence de l'*Astrée* sur notre théâtre¹ ”.

The plot of the pastoral is utterly conventional, as M. Marsan has shown. A chain of lovers (A loves B, who loves C, who loves D, who loves A), three other shepherds with other love affairs, a *miles gloriosus* and his comic servant, a prologue spoken by Amour, lovers' debates about their sweethearts, echo scenes, an *enlèvement*, use of magic, discovery of a long lost brother, many marriages to end the play, all of these traits combine to make of *les Amantes* a compendium of pastoral characteristics. It is a direct imitation, as M. Marsan has pointed out, of the *Arimène* and the *Diane* of Montreux, through whom the influence of Montemayor is exerted. He also shows that Briarée, the braggart, though representing the Italian tradition, is also Spanish and has two personalities, that of a knight and that of a coward. He comments also on the relatively high conception of love, the taste for abstract discussion, and the patriotism of the *intermèdes*, which may all have been suggested by the Spanish *Diana*. These are doubtless the principal elements in the play, but there are others to be mentioned.

The plan proposed in V, 2 was sufficiently dramatic to be used by Racine, though he probably did not know Chrestien's play. Just as Andromaque, in order to save her son, agreed to marry a man she hated, but with the intention of killing herself immediately after the ceremony, so Florise plans to save her lover :

Or ie m'en vays entre les bras me mettre
Du nigromant, et ma foy luy promettre,
Pourueu qu'il veuille Eurial secourir,
Et puis apres ie me feray mourir,
Pour ne vouloir suruiure deflorée.

Earlier in the play there are some interesting examples of folk-lore (III, 2). Florise knows what must be done in each season of the year, when to castrate a calf, how to tame sheep by piercing the horn near the ear, how to cause a male or a female lamb to be born :

Comme en liant leur genitoire droit,
Vne femelle auoir on ne faudroit
Et leur liant le gauche, vn aigneau malle.

She can also determine their color, prevent abortions, heal sick animals,

(1) *Op. cit.*, p. 235. His discussion of the play begins on p. 227.

Les rengresser en leur donnant par fois
Seigle bouilly avec du lard époïs.

Interesting also are the names of devils, in the second act, Beliad, Mildefaut, Torchebinet, Saucerian, Grihaut, Francipoulain, Noridor, Craincelle, Asmodeus, and the magic words (IV, 2), " Toreibara, Saucreniaïn, Furabouche. Francipoulain, Eugiron, Tirticort ? "

The comic element is chiefly furnished by Briarée's valet, who loves the kitchen better than women and explains his poltroonery with a sense of humor that reminds one of Sancho Panza (IV, 4) :

Je suis tout cœur et le cœur de nature
N'endure pas vne moindre pointure :
C'est ce qui fait que quand ie suis touché
Je suis par terre aussi soudain couché,
Et ne me puis tenir ferme en bataille,
O sans cela, d'estoc comme de taille,
L'irois tuant brisant de tous costez,
Feust-ce iambons saucices, ou pastez.

The verse forms are quite varied. Not only is the ten-syllable line employed as the principal verse of the five acts and the alexandrine of the *intermèdes*, but we find an early example of the lyric monologue, beginning :

Que me sert d'estre fidelle,
Et de n'aimer que ma belle ¹.

There are also songs with refrains, two examples of which occur in I, 1, one in IV, 4 and in the third *intermède*. The following lines have some of the charm of Théophile and may have influenced his *Pyrame* ² :

L'arbre qui pert en hyuer son beau teint,
Par la froideur cruellement ataint
Reprend son lustre, et son chef refleuronne
Quand le printemps des zephirs se couronne,
L'herbe reuiet que la neige foula,
Et le coqu qui de nous s'enuola :
" Mais las ! la vie esteinte, ne retourne,
" Et nostre esprit tousiours ailleurs seiourne (IV, 5).

Chrestien's use of *intermèdes* must have been inspired by Montreux's *Arimène*, but, while those of the latter are mythological,

(1) III. There are five stanzas with the rime scheme *aabccb*.

(2) V, 2, cited below, p. 176.

those of *les Amantes* are religious and patriotic. Each recounts a victory won by a French hero or heroine with divine help and is so constructed as to include an argument as to whether the enemy should be attacked, a scene in the hostile camp, and a battle, accompanied by prayer and followed by victory. The first concerns the conversion of Clovis. He is attacked by Ambioris, a German chieftain, because "ces François" have forgotten their Teutonic origin, but Clovis boasts of being a Frenchman :

Ce fer ensanglanté portera témoignage
Qu'il ne fut onc François, sans son françois courage
Et ces corps Alemans qu'il doit morts culbuter
Feront voir que le cœur, non le corps, doit domter.

When he conquers the Germans, he predicts that his successors will be faithful to Christianity :

Entr'autres vn LOUYS, fils de Henry le grand,
De qui tout l'univers des merueilles attend.

In the second *intermède* Charlemagne is sent by Saint James to win back his shrine at Compostella :

Sus donc Charles, sus donc, armons de nostre France
Cet invaincu courage, et l'antique vaillance.

By means of a prayer and some help from Roland and Oger he captures the town. In a similar way Godefroy de Bouillon storms Jerusalem in the third *intermède* ; Saint Louis, Damietta in the fourth, which ends with a prediction that the Bourbons will descend from his son Robert and that

Vn Roy Louis treziesme, vn Prince venerable
En sortira pour estre au monde redoutable...
Fils d'une mere sage en la France regente...
Il sera tout element, tout preux, et les François
Verront reuiure en luy leurs honneurs, et leurs loix :
Laissant des fils heureux pleins comme luy de gloire.

Joan of Arc is the heroine of the last *intermède* :

Ieanne ie suis nommée, et née à Vaucouleurs.
Ie viens pour affranchir la France de malheurs.

She picks out the king from among his courtiers, defeats Talbot and raises the siege of Orléans. "Combat. Siege leué" is the stage,

direction. She predicts the crowning of Charles, the driving out of the English, and happiness under Henri IV and his successor :

Rien ne te détruira. France, que tes seuls bras
Quand tes propres enfans t'empliront de combats.

In reading these *intermèdes* one regrets that this attempt at dramatizing French history was so seldom imitated by seventeenth century dramatists. They are national in spirit, as are many English and Spanish plays of the same general period, while in France dramatists tended to express their patriotism in tragedies the scenes of which were laid in other countries than their own.

Of much less importance is the *PASTORALE* of François Ménard, "docteur ès droits et avocat en parlement de Tholose et du présidial de Nîmes", who must not be confounded with the poet Maynard¹. The work reads like the first draft of a play in which the author has forgotten to punish a satyr, to marry one of his couples, and to bring to life another couple, metamorphosed into rocks. The general theme is the triumph of love. An echo, a suicide, metamorphosis, etc. are employed to bring about the dénouement. Characters and setting are thoroughly conventional. The chief merit of the pastoral lies in its limpid style, as M. Marsan has pointed out².

The same year appeared *L'HEUREUX DÉSESPÉRÉ*³, written chiefly in prose. It is a poorly constructed play in which the main action stands still for nearly five acts. The theme is that of a lover who learns that his beloved is dead and mourns her until her ghost bids him love another and until Diana wounds him while he is wearing a wolf-skin in the forest⁴ and then falls in love with him. The real action of the play takes place behind the scenes and is reported by Amour in an epilogue. To bolster up this feeble plot the author has recourse to magic, a satyr incident, a subordinate love-affair, and

(1) This mistake led Garrison to republish the play in the *Œuvres poétiques de François de Maynard*, Paris, Lemerre, 1885, I, 225-314. It had originally appeared at Paris, chez Fr. Jacquin, in 1613, 12°. MM. Durand Lapie and Lachèvre in *Deux homonymes du XVII^e siècle*, Paris, Champion, 1899, and M. Drouhet in *le Poète François Mainard*, Paris, Champion, 1909, pp. 97-137, have shown that Ménard is not the same person as Maynard. Cf. also Marsan, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

(2) *Ibid.*, pp. 302-305.

(3) Paris, Claude Collet, 1613, 12°, by C. A. Seigneur de C., which Lacroix (*Soleinne*, n° 956) interprets as "comte Adrien Seigneur de Cramail", but there is no evidence that Adrien de Montluc, comte de Cramail ever wrote his name in such a way as to give support to Lacroix's hypothesis. Until more substantial evidence of the author's name can be found, it is wiser to admit that he has not been identified.

(4) Marsan shows that this comes from Guarini's *Pastor fido* and points out several parallels, among which we may note a somewhat similar use of a bearskin in *les Amantes*. Cf. Marsan, *op. cit.*, pp. 228, 309, 318, 319, 323.

certain interesting comic scenes, which make a pleasant contrast with the usually insipid lines of the pastoral. I find here the first evidence of the influence of Cervantes upon a French play ¹. Cloridan, "cheualier en queste", and his attendant, Pansatonde — note the name — are brought in purely for comic relief. The former seeks adventure like Don Quixote and has had, like him, an unfortunate love-affair, though he is now interested in hunting animals rather than in defending ladies. The latter is closer to his Spanish model, Sancho Panza, not only in his name, but in his cowardice and especially in his constant desire for food and drink and his inability to understand other motives. The following passages will serve to characterize him ²:

Y a-t'il rien au monde si laid, si foible, si malplaisant, et si languide qu'un homme affamé, ny rien au contraire si beau, si fort, si ioyeux et si sain qu'un homme d'honneur comme moy, quand il est bien saoul?... Voilà vne magnifique follie, mourir pour la mort d'une femme, mourir d'amour pour vne chose morte, sans poulx, sans mouuement et sans cognoissance, ie ne m'estonne pas si l'on mange peu en ces deserts, puis que l'on y a le cerueau si vuide! Je n'ay iamais esté sur le point de desespoir qu'une fois, mais c'estoit pour chose qui en valloit la peine, mon maistre m'auoit donné un bon chapon, et ainsi comme ie me preparois à le manger, un leurier vint me le raurir du plat.

Isaac Du Ryer, father of the more celebrated dramatist, Pierre Du Ryer, was at different times a protégé of the Duke of Bellegarde, customs clerk at the port Saint-Paul, and a *secrétaire du roi*. He had published a play entitled *Pastourelle* in the second edition of his *Temps perdu* ³. In the edition of this work that came out the following year ⁴ he republished the play with a few changes under the title, *Les Amours contraires, Pastourelle*. Although the *privilege* for the volume is dated Oct. 20, 1610, the pastoral must have been ready for publication before the death of Henri IV, for it ends with a reference to him written as if he were still living. In 1614 Isaac Du Ryer published the *VENGEANCE DES SATYRES* "pastorelle representee dans la grande salle de l'église du Temple de Paris" ⁵, a reworking of the same play with the addition of another episode. M. Marsan has analyzed the various versions ⁶ and shown that in

(1) Marsan does not mention Cervantes in this connection. He declares (p. 317) that the influence of the *Astrée* upon the play is more direct than that of the *Diana*, but admits that the idea of inscribing "no quiero mas" upon a death's head (II, 3) may come from the latter novel.

(2) II, 4, and III, 4.

(3) Paris, Jean Regnoul, 1609, 12°. The first edition is lost.

(4) Paris, T. du Bray, 12°.

(5) *Ibid.*, 12°. This and the two preceding forms of the pastoral are found, bound together, at the Arsenal, B. L. 9717.

(6) *Op. cit.*, pp. 312, 313.

the *Vengeance* the first act of the *Pastourelle* is divided into two acts, while a fifth act is added, containing new material. He also states that the speech with which the older versions end "disparaît, la pièce n'étant pas achevée". But, as a matter of fact, this speech reappears in V, 3, altered in such a way that Henri IV is no longer represented as living. The main plot consists of the usual chain of lovers, whose affections are unrequited by the proper persons until a sorceress and Cupid intervene. There is also an important episode in which the girls are carried off by satyrs and rescued by shepherds. In order to lengthen the play, the author brings back these satyrs, who seek to avenge themselves by the use of a magic powder, scattered on the ground, which renders everybody motionless, including the satyrs, until they are all liberated by the rain. The intervention of the sorceress may have been suggested by the *Diana* of Montemayor, which Isaac Du Ryer was to imitate in his *Mariage d'amour*.

In the *Vengeance* the following introductory quatrain, which had appeared in the *Amours contraires*, is retained :

Excusez si leur langage
Est vn peu grossier et lour,
Ce sont Amans de village
Non point des Amans de Cour,

but a longer prologue is added and assigned to "Cupidon escolier" :

Je suis Amour par tout assez congneu
Depuis vn moys Escollier deuenue,
Purtant au lieu de ma trousse d'yuoire
A mon costé la petite escritoire...
Au demeurant dedans ces lieux icy,
Tout est petit succinct et racourcy,
Acteurs petits, Pastorelle petite,
Qui toutesfois le silence merite.
Vous qui venez ici vous res-iouyr,
Faictes nous doncq l'honneur de nous ouyr,
Et si quelqu'vn manque de hardiesse,
Accusez-en leur petite ieunesse.

An early use of the word "stances" as applied to lines to be recited rather than sung is found in this play (III, 2), as I noted in the second section of this chapter. An interesting addition to the older version of the pastoral occurs in the same scene and brings out the growing opposition to dueling :

Coridon : ...n'estoit l'amour qui nous conioint
Nous irions sur le pré mettre bas le pourpoint.

Tillis : Laissons aux Courtisans ceste mode cruelle,
Et iamais pour l'amour ne prenons de querelle.

Other changes are made because the child, Louis XIII, has succeeded his warlike father. "Sous vn Roy redouté" (*Amours contraires*, III, 3) disappears and "cest enfant leur Roy", meaning Cupid, is changed to "cestuy-cy leur Roy" in order to avoid confusion with the young king. M. Marsan¹ suggests that the play may have been prepared for performance by Louis XIII and his comrades. Whoever the children that played it may have been, it is extraordinary that they should have been expected to learn certain extremely suggestive portions of the dialogue. The pastoral ends with a passage addressed to the audience :

Et vous nobles bourgeois
Qui daignez venir rire avec les villageois,
Nous vous faisons à tous vne humble reuerence
Et vous remercions de vostre patience.
Que si nos petits ieux vostre espoir ont deceu,
Et ne respondent pas a tant d'honneur receu
Prenez vous en, Messieurs, aux beautez de ces Dames..

L'AMOUR TRIOMPHANT, "pastorale comique, où sous les noms du Berger Pirandre, et de la belle Oreade du mont Olympe, sont descrites les amoureuses aduantures de quelques grands Princes²", was written by Troterel and has been discussed at some length by M. Marsan³, who indicates the author's debt to the *Astrée*. Both works are written in prose⁴, but admit verse from time to time. Each has a comparatively simple plot, which serves to connect a number of narratives, related by the characters. In both the main episode is concerned with a bashful lover and a haughty maiden, who are finally united after much discussion of the metaphysics of love. One is reminded of d'Urfé even by the style, "cette langue harmonieuse et souple, cadencée, un peu solennelle sans lourdeur ni pédantisme, presque entièrement dégagée des importations étrangères". In addition to the main plot⁵, there is a subordinate one. Both are

(1) *Op. cit.*, p. 300.

(2) Paris, S. Thiboust, 1615, 8°; 371 pp. It is dedicated to Pierre de Rouxel, baron de Médavy. The *Catalogue Taylor*, Paris, Techener, 1876, p. 881, mentions an edition of 1610, which must be a misprint, for the date is everywhere else given as 1615 and the *privilege* was obtained on Aug. 7 of the latter year.

(3) *Op. cit.*, pp. 310, 317, 319-322.

(4) Troterel says that he selected prose at the suggestion of Médavy, but he may at the same time have had d'Urfé in mind. M. Magendie is not convinced by M. Marsan; cf. *Du nouveau sur l'Astrée*, Paris, Champion, 1927, p. 257.

(5) Oreade, though not yet twenty, is so greatly bored by life at the court of the King of Cyprus that she retires to Mont-Olympe, of which her father had been lord,

amplified by the addition of numerous and lengthy *récits*, so that the play reaches the proportions of a novel. It is, indeed, so long that one might believe that it was not intended for the stage except that the concluding lines, beginning " Et vous qui ne cherchez que des fleurs parmy les espines de la vie ", are addressed to the audience. Some of the *récits*, moreover, could easily be omitted or shortened, if the actors preferred a briefer form of the play. A number of details are worthy of notice. The heroine expresses the democratic opinion that " qui s'est annobly par sa propre vertu, ne sera-t'il plus loüable que ceux qui sont redeuables de leur noblesse à leurs deuan-ciers ? " (III, 1). The hero is described (V, 6) as " de riche taille " with " le teint extremement blanc, les yeux verts, les cheueux chastains, le nés aquilin et la barbe, qui ne luy faict que poindre, fort blonde ". He faints (I, 2) when Oréade tells him she cannot love a shepherd, though he subsequently shows his strength both in metaphysical debate and in a fight with the wolves. The comic element, which is not inconsiderable, is chiefly found in conversations between the magician and his valet. When the former talks of dying, the latter comments (I, 3) : " Or sus mourez doncques tout seul mon maistre ; car pour moy ie n'en feray rien : comment mourir ! ie n'ay garde, si l'on ne m'oste la vie ". Note also the passage quoted by M. Marsan ¹ and the conversation (V, 5) in which the servant, who has offended his master, refuses to open the door for him, or even to recognize him, until he has promised not to beat him, " ny en gros ny en destail ". The plan of disguising a lover in the skin of an animal (III, 3) has already been met in *les Amantes* and *l'Heureux désespéré* and has been traced back to the *Pastor fido*. The echo, the contrasting of country and city life, and the invocation of demons are common to many pastorals, but the play under discussion contains other elements that are less conventional. Such are allusions to contemporary life, to laws against dueling (I, 4), to cod fishing off Newfoundland, expressed in the phrase, " la premiere conqueste des mourues de terre neuue " (I, 3), to the fact that the word *bon-homme* is considered an insult at court ² (I, 3), and to hunting cries (II, 4). Troterel makes his characters argue as to the relative

and amuses herself with hunting and the society of other girls. She is courted by the faithful and humble shepherd, Pirandre, and by an elderly magician. Neither the latter's enchantments nor the heroine's pride can hold out against the virtues of the shepherd, who is aided by the people of the country in return for his help against wolves and by an oracle. At the end of the play an old knight turns up and declares Pirandre to be his son, lost years before. The latter's marriage to the heroine is then easily arranged, for even the magician is obliged to accept the situation.

(1) *Op. cit.*, p. 322.

(2) Cf. my edition of Mairet's *Chryseide*, p. 128.

merits of the *chanson* and the sonnet (II, 5) and employs so homely a comparison as "lessiue pour la tête d'un âne" (II, 2). He makes use of the ancient folk tradition that stabbing an image will hurt the person it represents (IV, 3) and the custom of expressing happiness by means of a white stone¹ (III, 4). The play has, then, much that is curious and arresting despite its great length and the aridity of much of the dialogue. It is chiefly important for its references to manners and customs and its use of a simple framework, amplified by *récit* and discussion, instead of a complicated intrigue.

The last pastoral of this period is *LES URNES VIVANTES OU LES AMOURS DE PHÉLIDON ET POLIBELLE* by Boissin de Gallardon², whose taste for pathetic themes made him give it an unhappy ending, seldom found in plays of this genre, and classify it as a "tragi-pastoralle". It is written in four acts without subdivision into scenes. That it was composed with an audience in mind is indicated, not only by the note at the beginning, "Phélidon commence", but by the concluding couplet, addressed to the spectators and showing that a farce was to be played immediately after it :

Messieurs ce dur conuoy pour vn peu nous retire,
Mais c'est pour apprestre vne farce pour rire.

The plot is trite. It is derived, as M. Marsan has shown³, from Groto's *Pentimento amoroso*⁴. The two women are tragic figures who err, but are punished more than they deserve. Phélidon is purely pathetic. Roserin, the villain, repents and leaves the country, but receives no other punishment. Bonical is a kindly shepherd who expresses gayly his antipathy to love (III) :

Viue la liberté, arriere le seruage,
Viue d'estre contant en son petit village,
Viue vn gay pastourau viuant champestrement.

Elsewhere the praise of rural life is more conventional, as is the use of

(1) This reference and the preceding one are both found, as we have seen, in *les Amantes*.

(2) Published in 1618 with the tragedies of the same author.

(3) *Op. cit.*, pp. 309, 360.

(4) III, 4, 5, 6, 7. In Boissin's pastoral Roserin, rejected lover of Polibelle, persuades Alcione to lie beside Phélidon. His purpose is to make Polibelle believe Phélidon, whom she loves, unfaithful. Alcione gladly consents, for she is in love with Phélidon. Roserin now shows the sleeping shepherd with Alcione lying beside him to Polibelle, who is not slow in banishing the man she loves. Alcione, spurned by Phélidon when he awakes, drowns herself in the sea. Phélidon, rejected by Polibelle, retires to a cave and dies of grief. Just before he expires, Polibelle, now repenting of her cruelty, discovers him, but only to die in his arms.

an echo and of Cupid, but Boissin can write simply enough, for he refers to bread, cheese, and a "plat de caillé" as well as to localities in France, Beauce and Vivarais¹. Although the author lived in the latter district, he represents it as near enough to the sea for a shepherdess to tell us (IV) that, while she was grazing her flock on the bank of the "fleuve Rhosien", she came near a great promontory,

Où les Viuariens des dieux tirent leur gloire,

and saw Alcione hurl herself from it into the "sein de Thetis!" The language is frequently erudite and includes references to "ce milleux corcodile" and "ce serpent amphibain" (III). The three persons who lose their lives make remarks just before they die that help explain the title of the play.

Aye ce souuenir au moins dedans ton ame
Que les vrnes d'amour pour toy ont pris ma flame,

cries Alcione. Phélidon promises that

Aux vrnes de Pluton ie l'iray adorant,

and Polibelle assures him that

On nous verra viuans en despit d'Atropos,
Phelidon attends moy au Letheen riuage²
Ie vay finir mes iours pour y voir ton image.

Apparently she feels that their love is so strong that it will conquer death and even communicate life to the urns in which the fate of mortals is settled. Hence the title, which the frères Parfaict³ declare difficult to understand.

VI. — Comedy and Farce

Literary historians often hold that no comedy existed in France between Larivey⁴ and Corneille's generation, but they ignore Trotterel's *Corrivaux*, which, though often farcical, has as good a right to such classification as many comedies of the Renaissance, *la Mer-*

(1) Cf. Marsan, *op. cit.*, pp. 316, 317.

(2) For similar remarks made by one lover to another cf. Théophile, *Pyrame*, V, 2; Mairet, *Chryséide*, line 403, and *Cléopâtre*, V, 6.

(3) IV, 253; for further quotation from the play one may consult this work and the *Bib. du th. fr.*, I, 489-491.

(4) His last two plays were printed in 1611, but were written years earlier.

veille, which is a sort of dramatized folk-tale, and three so-called tragi-comedies, which should, in reality, be associated with the comedy and the farce. Comic scenes are also frequently found in plays belonging to other genres, a notable example of which fact is furnished by *l'Ephésienne*, studied above. On the other hand, the term, comedy, is sometimes applied where it does not belong, as is the case with *Isaac*, the reworking of a medieval mystery play ¹.

The COMÉDIE ADMIRABLE INTITULÉE LA MERVEILLE, "où l'on voit comme vn Capitaine François, esclauue du Soldan d'Egypte, transporté de son bon sens, ce² donne au Diable pour s'affranchir de seruitude, lequel il trompe mesme subtilement tant qu'il fut contrainct luy rendre son obligation", was published at Rouen by Abraham Cous-turier, 8°, probably about 1612-1614 ³. The theme is, like that of *Patelin*, the trickster tricked, but the dialogue contains little that

(1) It was published in the *Poèmes françois* of Jean Rosier, Douay, Pierre Auroy, 1616, 8° (Arsenal, B. L. 7287), p. 185 ff. Lacroix (*Soleinne*, n° 990) pointed out that it was "prise toute entière dans l'ancien mystère d'Abraham sacrifiant" and after quoting each play in parallel columns concluded that "le plagiaire s'est contenté, comme on voit, de changer quelques mots, d'ajouter des chœurs et de diviser en scènes et en actes le mystère extrait de celui du *Vieil Testament*". It is easy to be convinced of this, if one compares *Isaac* with the Rothschild edition of the *Mistère du Viel Testament*, Paris, Didot, 1879, II, 1-79. Rosier does not even change the rimes in such a way as to keep the rule for alternating masculines and feminines. About all he does is to substitute "ange" for "ceraphin", "seruiteur" for "Is-mael", and to add a prologue, an epilogue, and, at the end of each act, a chorus. A passage from the chorus at the end of the second act deserves citation, if only to show the extent of Rosier's acquaintance with comparative theology:

O pere que par noms diuers
L'on inuoque par l'Vniuers,
Emmanuel, Adonai,
Ieōa, Hala, Zaddai,
Tousiours orné de lauriers verds :
Boëg nommé des Esclauons,
Godt des Allemans et Frisons,
Zimi appellé des Persans
Et Adad des Assyrians,
Pour exaucer leurs oraisons.

(2) Se.

(3) A French captain, Flodoar, is captured and brought before the Sultan of Egypt, who agrees not to broil him, as a lieutenant suggests, or make him swallow vinegar and oil with melted lead, provided he will build him in two years an impregnable castle on the Euphrates. In order to save his life, Flodoar agrees, but, at the end of two years, wishes he had been devoured by "baleines humides" and is finally obliged to sell his soul to Pharos, a demon, who, in return, promises to complete the task. Pharos carries out his part of the agreement in an hour, kills the two men who had captured Flodoar, pillages the Sultan's treasury, and whisks the captain home on his back. Despite this kindness, Flodoar now trembles at the thought of losing his soul. He prays to God and confesses his sin, then tells the demon he has a request to make. Pharos rashly promises to grant it before the day is over, whereupon he is told to build a tower reaching from Hell to Heaven and fill it with "escus" and "pistoilles". As this is impossible, even for Pharos, he is obliged to release Flodoar in return for being excused from carrying out his promise, but he warns the captain not to fall into his clutches again. The latter thanks God for his escape, while Pharos, he learns, is to be beaten by Lucifer for six weeks and deserves, according to his overlord, to be hanged on Montfaucon.

is comic. The inspiration seems partially medieval, connected with the forerunners of *Faust*, and partly oriental, for it also recalls the *Arabian Nights*. Although it has little artistic merit, it is interesting on account of certain passages, such as those expressing pride in the valor of Frenchmen and the exploits of Louis IX. When the hero is accused of spying, he replies (I, 1) :

Jamais François ne fut traistre ainsi comme vous ;

the satraps had already made the following complimentary reference to France :

...leur face courtoise
Me font ¹ croire qu'ils sont de la terre Française.
Sus, sus vengeons nous donc de ce que saint Louys
Leur invincible Roy fit à nostre pays,
Alors qu'ayant Thetis de gendarmes couverte
Il vient fier assieger Le Cayre et Damiette.

Note the homely comparison (IV, 2) :

Je sçais que ie suis pris de la mesme maniere
Que l'on surprend le rat au creux de la ratiere.

The introduction of workmen, unusual in French plays of the seventeenth century, produces an interesting scene, in which the hod-carriers' conversation is given as they bring materials to Flodoar (III, 1) :

Turly : Sus, allons, Vandalon, porter agillement
Ceste blanchastre chaux, et ce mouillé cymment...
Vandalon : Je croy, et gageray mon bonnet bigarré,
De bleu, de gris, de blanc, et de rouge paré,
Mes bottines de cuir, mon cousteau, et ma hotte...

Flodoar is described (I. 1) as :

Haut gros et refroigné, portant vne pannache,
Et aux leures des crocs releuez en moustache.

His knowledge of geography is extensive, for he has passed

Le Cap de saint Vincent et l'estroit Gilbertart...
Le terroir Maurитайn, Maroque, et fais encor
Le froidureux Atlas, et le fleuve Sannor ²,

(1) Read *fait*.

(2) Apparently a stream in north-eastern Morocco.

Le port de mer Doran ¹, la fiere Barbarie,
 Le fleuve de Sisare ², et toute Numidie,
 Tant que ie suis venu aux peuples alterez
 Que bazane Phœbus de ces rayons dorez.
 L'ay veu le fleuve Amphage, et Arzer la gentille,
 Bizance, Bragadas, et Hipon la virille ³...

Far more important than this play are the two *comédies facétieuses* attributed to Troterel, LES CORRIVAUX ⁴ and *Gillette* ⁵. In the first of these Toldo ⁶ finds evidence that the author possessed facility of style, vivacity, and ability to vary his scenes, but detects in him no superiority over Renaissance authors of comedy. He was unable to discover a direct source for the play, but the episode of the valet, rival of his master, reminds him of Parabosco's *Viluppo* and that of the forced marriage of many French and Italian tales. Troterel seems, indeed, to have selected a very simple and conventional theme and to have amplified it by adding episodes and developing the dialogue, as he subsequently amplified the simple plot of *L'Amour triomphant*. The core of the plot is mainly this: the lovers, Clorette and Brillant, pass the night together and are discovered by her parents; Brillant escapes, but is lured back the next night by his mistress, who acts in accordance with her parents' orders; found again with Clorette, he is forced to promise to marry her. This is distinctly a subject for farce, but Troterel had higher aims. He

(1) That is, d'Oran.

(2) The Sisar on Ptolomey's map, a stream in eastern Algeria, to the east of the present Bougie.

(3) The names in this couplet are those of the Ampsagus, the stream that separated Mauretania from Numidia; Algiers; Byzacena in central Tunis, west of the Gulf of Gabes; Bagradas, a river near Carthage to the west; and Hippo. Many of the names are those employed in ancient times.

(4) The only edition of this play that I have been able to find is the easily accessible one published in the *Ancien Théâtre françois*, Paris, Jannet, 1856, Vol. VIII. This gives little bibliographical information. In *Soleinne*, n° 907, the play is listed as "de l'invention de P. T. S. D., Rouen, Raphaël du Petit Val, 1612, 12°" and is said to be bound with *Théocris*, "de l'invention de P. Troterel, escuyer, sieur d'Aves". The attribution of both plays to Troterel seems reasonable. If we accept it, we shall have no great difficulty in believing that *Gillette* was also his work, though the author is indicated merely by the words "le sieur D." It may be added that all three plays were printed at Rouen by the same publisher.

(5) As this comedy was written in 1619, it will be discussed in the next chapter. For *la Comédie des proverbes*, cf. below, Chap. IX. *L'Amour médecin*, mentioned by the frères Parfaict (IV, 285) as first appearing in 1618, though they had not seen it and are borrowing the statement from "quelques catalogues", may be Molière's farce of that name. At any rate the evidence of its existing in 1618 is too slight to be taken seriously. The seven farces of the *Recueil* published at Paris by Nicolas Rousset in 1612 are not discussed here since they obviously belong to an older period. Cf. Petit de Julleville, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 121, 234. He shows that one of them had already appeared in 1542 and another "vers 1530". Cf. also the *Bib. du th. fr.*, I, 11.

(6) Cf. his long article in *R. H. L.*, VI (1899), 571 ff. and VII (1900), 263 ff.

wrote his play in alexandrines, whereas most farces are written either in prose or in verses of eight syllables. He paid a good deal of attention to character drawing and lengthened his material to fill five acts, two distinct departures from the characteristics of the farce. His additions include Clorette's aunt, a friend of her father's, Brillant's valet, whom he makes not only the helper, but the rival of his master, and a second rival, one of two men called in to capture the hero. With these new characters it was easy to compose a full-length play, though he did not succeed in giving us a well-constructed one¹, for, as Clorette tells Almérin in the second act that she and Brillant hope to marry and there is no evidence that he wishes to abandon her, the main action is largely superfluous. The *scène à faire* at the end of the play is given only in *récit*, a strange error, for Troterel was surely restrained by no feeling of modesty. The characters resemble those of Renaissance comedy, but differ from them sufficiently to have qualities of their own. The parents represent a French family that has suffered from war (IV, 1), but has kept a feeling for appearances, if not for virtue. Both are deeply distressed at the news of their daughter's seduction, but the mother is readily influenced by Clorette's specious arguments, set forth in the following scene :

- Clorette : Ma bonne mère, hélas ! veuillez-moy pardonner,
Je vous requiers mercy ; je vous jure et proteste...
- Molive : Ceste ruse est trop maigre : à d'autres ! c'est en vain.
- Clorette : Las ! ma mère, aurez-vous le cœur tant inhumain
Que de me battre avant que de vouloir entendre
Tant soit-peu les raisons que j'ay pour me defendre ?
- Molive : Quelles raisons as-tu ? Di-les, or parle un peu.
- Clorette : Que je puisse brusler comme bois dans le feu,
Ou le grand Lucifer dans son enfer m'emporte,
Si par sort le meschant n'a fait ouurir la porte,
Et puis à pas contez est finement venu
Prez de moy se coucher...
- Molive : Et que ne venois-tu bien viste m'appeler,
A fin de le chasser et le faire en aller ?

(1) Act I : Florette, the aunt, preaches virtue to Clorette and Brillant is attacked by his rival, Gaillard, and the latter's friend, Bragard, but is rescued by his valet, Almérin. Act II : a quarrel ensues between Florette and Bragard, while Almérin succeeds in passing the night with Clorette, having drugged his master and disguised himself in his clothes. Act III is concerned with the events of the following night, when Clorette receives Brillant and her parents discover her intrigue. Act IV : Clorette wins over her mother and, with her help and that of Hilard, "compère" of her father, pacifies the latter and prevails upon Brillant to return for another night. Act V : we see the final preparations for catching the lover, then are told that he has agreed to marry Clorette and that Gaillard, seeing that she is pleased, has withdrawn.

Clorette : Ma douce et bonne mère, hélas ! je n'avois garde.

Molive : He ! qui t'en empeschoit, dy-moy, grosse moullarde ?

Clorette : Las ! ma mère, c'estoit que trop fort je dormois

Je pense qu'il m'avoit en se couchant frottée

Les temples et les yeux de froid jus de pavot,

Car je n'entendois pas tant seulement un mot.

Molive : Si tu dis verité, le cas est bien estrange.

Clorette : Si le tout n'est ainsi, que le mal'heureux ange

Qui commande là bas en l'abisme d'enfer

Me puisse devant vous maintenant étoufer.

Molive : Maintenant je te croy, ..

The father is less easy to convince. He would wring his daughter's neck, but his wife assures him that Clorette's virtue is intact and his friend persuades him to aim at marriage rather than punishment. Clorette is the clever and lascivious girl of Renaissance comedy, totally lacking in virtue and capable of deceiving her lover as well as her parents. She is as quick-witted as she is hypocritical, for, when she discovers from conversation with Brillant that it was not he who spent the night with her and that he is angered by her confession, she cleverly explains that (III, 3)

Par mon ame, je ments, et c'estoit pour connoistre
Un peu de quelle humeur le ciel vous a fait naistre.

Brillant is easily deceived. Indeed he is a highly credulous young man, who is tricked by his valet. He is not even physically vigorous, for he needs the help of his valet to overcome the two men who attack him. These last resemble both the braggart soldier and the glutton of Roman and Renaissance comedy, but they are less exaggerated and cowardly and do not take themselves seriously. They can measure their own prowess, as the following lines suggest (I, 1) :

Gaillard : Si monsieur l'Espagnol t'avoit de son costé,

Je suis seur que le Turc se verroit bien frotté

Alors que ce viendroit au jour d'une bataille.

Bragard : O diable ! mon amy, je sçay bien comme on taille

Un gros et gras jambon ou la pièce de beuf.

Croyez qu'en ces combats j'en fais autant que neuf.

The fact that Almérin is his master's rival differentiates him from the usual clever valet. The aunt, who has had an evil past and is ready to help Clorette get a husband, resembles the Roman *lena* in these respects, but her morals have improved with age and she is able to give her niece excellent advice. The prologue is in the form

of a dialogue between the "prologueur" and the "caché", an actor hidden behind the "tapisserie", an arrangement that may be due to the influence of Italian comedy, of such a play, for instance, as Bruno's *Candelaio*. There are a few allusions to contemporary manners and events. Hilard deplores the immorality of the day (V, 1). Almérin contrasts the languorous methods of romantic lovers with his own (I, 3). I have mentioned references to a war from which the heroine's family has suffered, probably the Religious wars, and to the fighting between Spaniards and Turks. The farce player, Alizon, is referred to in I, 3 and characters from Rabelais in III, 1 :

Car je suis descendu du fils de Gargamelle,
Qui mangeoit son potage avecques une pelle ;
Et de l'autre costé, qu'on nomme maternel,
Je tire mon estoc du bon Pantagruel,
Qui ne beuvoit jamais que dedans une jade.

A few lines further on Bragard sings a "vau-de-vire".

The chief merit of the play lies in the lively quality of the dialogue, which is almost continuously amusing, never tedious. It is unfortunate that the vulgarity of the language is so great that it overshadows its wit. No play of the seventeenth century goes further in the obscenity of its vocabulary or of its situations. The fact that the heroine is tricked into spending the night with her lover's valet is treated purely as a joke. Proposals made by this valet to Clorette, or indecent remarks made about her to his master are met only with a slap or a curse. Marriage clears up everything. Even the author seems to realize that the language of his play oversteps the mark, for he explains his purpose in an *advertissement*, from which we learn that he wrote "ceste folastre comédie" to warn us against vice, "car il n'y a rien au monde que j'abhorre tant. Et te jure de bonne ame que je hay plus que la peste ceux qui le suivent". In seeing vice so well described, we learn to follow virtue. He might have defended his play more successfully, if he had told us that he had written it for an audience of men before the theater had been influenced by the more polished stratum of French society. He might have claimed for it, not a prize of virtue, but the merit of being the first full-length play in the seventeenth century that is both comic in purpose and continuously spirited in dialogue. Not in its indecency, but in its subordination of plot to comic dialogue does it deserve to be considered one of the ancestors of classical comedy.

Two little farces, called tragi-comedies, much slighter in every respect than the *Corrivaux*, but interesting as showing the kind of amusement in vogue at about the time when Troterel's comedy appeared, were published, without date or author's name, at Rouen by Abraham Cousturier, 8^o ¹. They are unlike the medieval farce in the fact that they make extensive use of the alexandrine, but in subject, tone, and the names of the characters they keep up the traditions of this genre. The longer one is designated as the *TRAGI-COMÉDIE PLAISANTE ET FACÉTIEUSE INTITULÉE LA SUBTILITÉ DE FRANFRELUCHE ET GAUDICHON, ET COMME IL FUT EMPORTÉ PAR LE DIABLE*. Fanfreluche, after winning Gaudichon by pretending to be a man of learning — a rôle suggested by the pedant of the Italian farce — seeks to become rich with the help of the devil, but when the latter has procured one of his hairs by false promises, he carries him off to Hell instead of bettering his fortunes. The alexandrines are varied by an occasional prose line, snatches of Latin, or a few verses of six or eight syllables.

The other farce is chiefly noteworthy for the fact that it was evidently written to be played by the the actors who were known on the stage as Turlupin and Gaultier-Garguille. It is consequently very probable that it was performed at the Hôtel de Bourgogne. It is called the *TRAGI-COMÉDIE DES ENFANTS DE TURLUPIN, MAL-HEUREUX DE NATURE*, "ou l'on voit les fortunes dudit Turlupin, le mariage d'entre luy et la Bolonnoise, et autres mille plaisantes ioyeusetez qui trompent la morne oisiveté". Turlupin finds himself in Panurge's quandary with regard to marriage, or rather in that of Arnolphe, and seeks to escape from it by wedding a hideous old gossip called, for want of a name, la Boulonnoise, but he is jealous even of her, suspects Garguille of betraying him, has a fight with his supposed rival, and then goes off to have a drink with him. This farce is written entirely in alexandrines, but it contains only four short acts.

The *FARCE DU MARIÉ* was probably acted during this period. All the information we have concerning it is contained in a print at the Bibliothèque Nationale showing two donkeys facing each other with their noses in contact. One carries on his back three women, the other three men. A musician stands in the center of the picture and from the windows behind him peer the faces of the

(1) They were probably printed in the years 1612-1614, like the tragedies brought out by Cousturier that we have studied early in this chapter. They were republished by Montaran in his *Recueil de livrets singuliers et rares*, Paris, 1829, 1830. The first farce resembles only in title the *Mitistoire barragouyne de Fanfreluche et Gaudichon*, Lyon, Dieppe, 1574.

farce actors, Turlupin and Gros Guillaume. The only lines that are preserved are inscribed under the figures. They are written in verses of eight syllables. M. Magne calls attention to this farce¹ and to others, also lost, but mentioned in contemporary publications : *La Malle de Gaultier* ; *Le Cadet de Champagne* ; *Tire la corde, j'ay la carpe* ; and possibly *Cérès*, which, however, as he suggests, may be Hardy's *Ravissement de Proserpine*. He analyzes two others, *Le Retraict* and *Le Mort*², of which the outlines have been preserved, but the second was old enough to have been acted before Charles IX³ and it is probable that *Le Retraict* was as ancient⁴.

The TRAGI-COMÉDIE TRÈS CÉLÈBRE DES INIMITABLES AMOURS DU SEIGNEUR ALEXANDRE ET D'ANNETTE, which, in its immorality, its use of eight-syllable verse, its style, and the incidents of its subordinate plot is a farce, is amplified, like the *Corrivaux*, till it includes five acts and acquires a pretentious title⁵. As in the older play the principal plot is concerned with lovers caught in the midst of an amorous encounter at the home of the girl's father, who is furious with her, but unable to punish her lover, since he succeeds in making his escape. At this point the two stories separate, for the father condemns Annette to death, she escapes with the help of a servant, and, disguised as a chambermaid, is employed by her uncle until her father dies and she is reunited to Alexandre. This ending and the device by which Annette is saved⁶ are characteristic of the tragi-comedy rather than the farce. On the other hand, the subordinate plot of Alexandre's valet and the shoemaker's wife is pure farce. The husband and wife quarrel, the valet consoles the wife when her husband drives her into the street, and the shoemaker takes her back in the end. The two plots have no influence upon each other. The characters are those of the farce : a brutal father, who says to the man who, as he thinks, has just killed his daughter, " Va boire tu l'as mérité " ; a quarrelsome shoemaker ; two immoral

(1) In his *Gaultier-Garguille*, Paris, Louis-Michaud, pp. 26, 27. The print is reproduced on p. 37.

(2) *Ibid.*, pp. 35, 36. He follows G. Sansrefus, *Gaultier Garguille*, Caen, L. Jouan, 1908, pp. 206-209.

(3) Cf. below, the discussion of Rotrou's *Hypocondriaque*, which seems to owe something to this farce.

(4) Cf. Petit de Julleville, *op. cit.*, pp. 228, 229.

(5) It was published at Troyes by Nicolas Oudot. The copy I have examined at the Bib. Nat., 8° (Réserve, yf 4072) has no date and runs to only 26 pages. The *Bib. du th.*, I, 526, cites an edition of Troyes, 1619, 8° ; Lacroix (*Soleinne*, no. 1009) one of 1628, 8°, with 31 pages, and adds that even the edition of 1619 is not the first.

(6) Ordered by her father to kill Annette, the servant, Clément, is so much moved by her plea for mercy that he lets her go and shows to her father her " vestement " dipped in blood. This motif, found in several pastorals, seems to go back to the Biblical account of Joseph and his brethren.

women ; a hero who plays a rather ignoble rôle ; and two clever valets. The language is often indecent, usually amusing. Proverbial expressions occur in a reference to taking " vn pain sur la fournée " (V) and in the couplet,

Ma foy celui là qui a peur
Des fueilles n'aille pas au bois ¹.

VII. — Personal and Political Plays

There are a few plays in which the characters are prominent persons in the state, or allegorical figures representing events of the day. They could scarcely have been acted by a professional troupe on account of the nature of their subjects and must have been written merely to be read, or for private performance ². Some of them belong to political rather than to dramatic history, but, on account of their classification as tragedy or pastoral, they will be discussed here.

The first of them is the HENRY LE GRAND of Claude Billard, a veteran of war and literature ³, who had published in 1610 a collection of plays ⁴ and had referred in his epic to having

fait voir la Tragédie
Brave sur le Théâtre en son parler François,
N'emprunter que le nom du Cothurne Grégeois.

In the *Au Lecteur* that precedes his tragedies he gives his ideas about style and mentions

cette surabondance d'inuentions, et de mots, qui Dieu merci ne me manque non plus, que la promptitude, et la longue patience à corriger ce que l'impetueuse fureur des Muses a tiré tout-à-coup de mes inuentions : mais cela soit dit sans vanité : maladie la plus commune de ce temps, dont je n'ay jamais esté affligé : ayant toujours plus désiré d'estre que paroistre.

(1) I. Note also that in the same act the father fears some one may " Amadiser " his daughter.

(2) I do not include the *Histoire de Pépésuc*, acted at Béziers at Ascension and written in honor of peace, for, as it is written largely in a Provençal dialect and seems to have been a masque rather than a play, it does not come within the scope of this book.

(3) Cf. Goujet, XIV, 391-397, XV, 65 ; Lachèvre, *B b. Rec.*, I, 116, 117, IV, 71, *Rec. Seiz.*, pp. 187, 259, 274 ; Le Bas, *Dictionnaire encyclopédique*, Paris, 1840 ; Toinet, *op cit.*, II, 79, 80. Billard was born about 1550 at Sauvigny, near Moulins, and brought up in the family of the duc de Retz. He served in the army, was secretary to Marguerite de Valois and " conseiller esleu pour le Roy en Bourbonnois ". He was the father of nine children, felt the need of a pension towards the end of his life, and died in 1618, leaving an epic, *L'Eglise triomphante*, and a number of patriotic, political, and sectarian poems in French and in Latin.

(4) Six tragedies, *Polyxène*, *Guaston de Foyz*, *Mérovée*, *Panthée*, *Saul*, *Alboin*, and a tragi-comedy, *Genèvre*.

He admits that his monologues are long, but insists that his thoughts cannot be expressed in a simple tirade of from 100 to 200 verses, that his rich rimes do not interfere with his fine maxims. He despises "grammariens et rimeurs" and vows allegiance to Ronsard¹.

When he republished his plays in 1612², after the death of Henri IV, he added a new tragedy, entitled HENRY LE GRAND, in honor of the late king, his son, and his widow. In his dedication to the latter he declares that

il y a deux ans, que ceste tragedie et moy, eusmes l'honneur d'estre esclairez des rayons de vos beaux yeux, lors que vostre Majesté me commenda la mettre en lumiere.

This hardly means, as the editor of 1806 thinks it does, that the queen had seen the play acted, but merely that she had seen the manuscript and was not opposed to Billard's believing that the king's praises ought not to be sung by a Muse "moins releuee que la mienne, qui peut parler des Armes, comme les ayant portées". He chooses to forget that, when he bore arms, it was against this same monarch and that he had once incautiously employed the phrase, "donnant la chasse au prince Nauarrin³."

The subject of the play is the assassination of Henri IV and the state of mind of various persons just before and after that event. There is very little dramatic struggle, no intrigue. The first act consists of a nine page monologue in which Satan determines to have the king killed for preventing the triumph of evil by turning Catholic. The second act describes Henri's war plans, which might have been used by a more skilful writer to furnish the hero with a tragic flaw, but which, as it is, merely constitutes an *hors d'œuvre*. The queen plays the rôle of Caesar's wife, foreseeing disaster, referring to the Ides, and seeking to keep her husband from leaving the palace. Courtiers seek to help her and even a priest, who ridicules astrology, but advises the king to be on his guard. The only struggle is in the mind of the assassin, who curses his own evil purpose, but is

(1) His style and opinions resemble those of Hardy. Cf. with the latter's prefaces and his pamphlet against Du Ryer and Auvray the following expression of Billard's eloquence: "Sortez moy ces petits cajoleurs de Cour à simple tonsure de Minerue, qui sont les sçauans, et les Aristarques és compagnies où l'on n'y entent pas finesse".

(2) Paris, Huby, 8°; also in 1613. The new tragedy was reprinted at Paris by Léopold Collin in 1806.

(3) Cf. his *Hymne de Victoire sur les deffaites et la reddition des reytres*, Paris, 1588, p. 17. On the preceding page he had referred to the earth,

Qui semble encor fumer du sang de l'Angleterre
Quand Ieanne la pucelle aus nostres esperdus
Eut si diuinement leurs courages rendus.

urged on by demons. Henri is finally killed behind the scenes and the event is described by a chorus of courtiers at the end of the fourth act. The play ought to end here, but it goes on to describe the reactions of various persons of importance. Guise bids the " chœur du Parlement " assure the succession of Louis and his mother's regency. Epernon calls to arms in support of the young king. Many great lords swear allegiance. The marquise d'Ancre seeks to cheer the queen. Sully delivers a five page monologue. The fifth act ends, as do the others, with a chorus. There is a curious comic scene in the second act in which the Dauphin regrets, like Alexander, that there will be no worlds left for him to conquer and in which he protests against the study of Latin ¹. A sympathetic chorus responds :

Je ne puis mettre dans ma teste,
Ce meschant Latin estranger
Qui met mes fesses en danger...
Ces liures me rendent peureux.

It is very improbable that a play on such a subject was ever acted, even at court. If it had been, some notice of the performance would probably have come down to us. Billard considered it, perhaps, as belonging to the same category as the poems he dedicated to the queen in 1610 under the title *Larmes sur la tombe de... Henry IIII*.

A play of similar subject and purpose, also dedicated to the queen, had appeared in 1611. It is the *PASTORELLE POUR LE BOUT DE L'AN DE HENRY LE GRAND* by E. G. C. ². An *Au Lecteur* explains that Mégalin represents Henri IV and that Elpis means hope. The other characters are pedantically named Protatée, Archontas, Agotas, Didocharas, and Pan. The structure of the play is that of a dialogued Noël, with Louis XIII substituted for Jesus. There is a slight influence of the contemporary pastoral. Three shepherds mourn the death of Mégalin and fear the attack of wolves. Didocharas comes to tell them that a voice in a dream has bidden him rejoice, for Elpis, son of Mégalin,

D'un bras estrangé-loup chassera des troupeaux
Les pestes se glissant par les coulans des eaux.

Protatée sings three stanzas expressing longing for Elpis. An echo predicts that happiness will soon come. The rising sun is

(1) Cf. the lines cited by the frères Parfaict, IV, 130.

(2) Paris, Claude Percheron. There is a MS. copy at the Bib. Nat., fr. 9370.

compared to Elpis, "qui sort de son berceau". All go to look for him and shepherds sing his praises. Pan declares him to be the ruler of these forests and gives him a crown. Elpis promises to guard the sheep and is hailed as a "beau soleil dans le parc Francien".

If the play was acted, it must have been at a memorial service for Henri IV on the anniversary of his death. L'Estoile refers in his *Journal* to the presence of the king and queen at a ceremony of some sort, but does not describe it in detail or assert that there was more than a religious service: "mercredi 11 [mai 1611], veille de l'Ascension, le Roy et la Royne revinrent de Fontainebleau à Paris pour y faire faire le bout de l'an du feu Roy ¹". A similar play was given by the students at La Flèche about the same time. In it Gaul and the Royal Virtues are prevented by the archangel Michael from shutting themselves up in the tomb of Henri IV and are sent to Louis XIII ². The *Pastourade Gascoise* ³ also treats of the death of Henri IV, but, as it is written in dialect, it does not concern us.

Only one event, in addition to the death of the king, inspired political writers of this period, the execution of Concini, otherwise known as the maréchal d'Ancre, and of his wife, Leonora Galigai. The two little plays that are concerned with the fate of these unfortunate Italians are entitled LA VICTOIRE DU PHÉBUS FRANÇOIS CONTRE LE PYTHON DE CE TEMPS, "tragedie où l'on voit les desseings, pratiques, Tyrannies, Meurtres, Larcins, Mort et Ignominie dudit Python", and LA MAGICIENNE ESTRANGÈRE, "tragedie en laquelle on voit les tiranniques comportements, origine, entreprises, desseins, sortileges, arrest, mort et supplice, tant du Marquis d'Ancre que de Leonor Galligay sa femme, avec l'adventureuse rencontre de leurs funestes ombres. Par vn bon François nepueu de Rotomagus". Five editions or reimpressions of the first and eight of the second have been noted. They may be listed as follows: PHÉBUS: A. Rouen, Thomas Maillart, no date ⁴; B. "Tragédie du Marquis d'Ancre ou la Victoire du Phœbus etc.", 1617, no place ⁵; C. "Tragédie du Marquis d'Ancre: ou la victoire du Phébus etc.", Paris, jouxte la coppie imprimée à Rouen chez Thomas Mallart, no date ⁶; D. "La Victoire du Phebus etc.", Paris, jouxte la cop. impr. à Rouen, no

(1) Ed. of Michaud et Poujoulat, XV, 664.

(2) Cf. Lanson, *op. cit.*, X, 224.

(3) Toulouse, 1611, cited by Marsan, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

(4) *Soleinne*, no. 3729. There is a copy at the Johns Hopkins University.

(5) *Bib. du th. fr.*, III, 274. Beauchamps, II, 11, 37, mentions "La mort du maréchal d'Ancre. Tr., 1617", but apparently he has not seen a copy of the play and is probably referring to one of the editions mentioned in this list.

(6) *Soleinne*, no. 3731. "Mallart" undoubtedly refers to Maillart.

date ¹; E. " Tragédie du marquis d'Ancre ou la Victoire du Phebus etc., " 1626, no place ²; MAGICIENNE : A. Rouen, David Geuffroy et Jacques Besongne, 1617 ³; B. *Ibid.*, 1617, Iouxte la coppie Imprimée à Rouen ⁴; C. " Tragédie de la Marquise d'Ancre, ou la Magicienne estrangère, " Paris, Iouxte la coppie impr. à Rouen par David Geoffroy et Jacques Besongne, no date ⁵; D. " Histoire recueillie de tout ce qui c'est ⁶ passé, tant en la mort du Marquis d'Ancre, que de Léonor Galligay sa femme. La Magicienne estrangère etc., " Moulins, prins sur la copie impr. à Rouen, par David Geuffroy et Jacques Besongne, 1618 ⁷; E. *Idem*, Lyons, 1618, preins sur la copie impr. à Rouen par David Geuffroy et Jacques Besongne ⁸; F. *Idem*, no date or place ⁹; G. *Idem*, 1626, no place ¹⁰; H. " Tragédie de la marquise d'Ancre, ou la Magicienne estrangère etc., " 1626, no place ¹¹.

As the second is a sequel to the first and shows marked similarity in spirit, style, length, and form; as, moreover, the relationship is so close that one printed sheet from the *Magicienne*, including pp. 9-16, marked with the signature " B ", was accidentally transferred to at least one copy ¹² of *Phébus* before it left the printer's, I conclude that they were written by the same author in the latter half of 1617. Who this author was, except that he was a native of Rouen (" nepueu de Rotomagus "), is not known. The fact that Beauchamps refers to these plays shortly after mentioning Pierre Mathieu and Sainte Marthe has led certain scholars to attribute the plays to them ¹³, but there is no real evidence to justify their doing so.

The characters of *Phébus* are given as follows: " Python. M. D. [Maréchal d'Ancre]; Phebus. R. de F. [Roi de France, Louis XIII]; Lydor de G. [de Luynes?]; Alcé D. D. [Deageant de St-Martin?]; Antimars de V. [de Vitry, slayer of Concini]; Galligay; Ruburo demon; L'homme de Chambre: 1. Archer. 2. Archer; Grand Preuost;

(1) *Ibid.*, V, 2 sup., no. 325. There is a copy in the Bibliothèque Méjanès at Aix.

(2) *Soleinne*, V, 2 sup., no. 326; Beauchamps, II, 54.

(3) *Bib. du th. fr.*, III, 274; *Soleinne*, no. 3730.

(4) Bibliothèque Mazarine, 37255.

(5) *Soleinne*, no. 3731.

(6) S'est.

(7) *Soleinne*, no. 3732.

(8) Beauchamps, II, 38.

(9) *Ibid.*, II, 54, 55.

(10) *Bib. du th. fr.*, III, 274; *Soleinne*, no. 3732.

(11) *Ibid.*, 2 sup., no. 326.

(12) The one at the Johns Hopkins University.

(13) Cf. Beauchamps, II, 11, 38; Lérès, *Dictionnaire portatif*, Paris, 1763, p. 682; Clouzot, *L'Ancien théâtre en Poitou*, p. 127; the copy of the *Magicienne* at the Mazarine, on which some one has written " Pierre Mathieu "; and Lacroix's note in *Soleinne*, no. 3730.

1. Bande et 2. Bande des Bourgeois : 1. Troupe et 2. Troupe des Crocheteurs ; Cleridam de L. [de Longueville] ; Theocrat de V. [de Vendôme] ; Arlin du M. [du Maine] ; Toleon de N. [de Nevers] ¹. " The play is little more than a series of tableaux, all concerned with the overthrow of Concini and his wife. In the first act the former plots for still greater power, while Phébus and his supporters, Lydor and Alcé, plot against him ; in the second he is killed by Antimars when he resists arrest in the court of the Louvre ; in the third his wife is taken to the Bastille and his body is dragged about the streets ; in the fourth and last Phébus rejoices over his death with the princes. There are too many persons in the play to leave space for any real study of character. The author has too little skill to throw into relief the important portions of the story. The main event is put at the end of the second act, after which the action really comes to an end. The verse is labored and incorrect. The scenes that come nearest possessing dramatic or picturesque qualities are those of the murder, in which there is a slight effort at drawing character and creating suspense, and of the disposal of Concini's remains. The following passage is from the first of these scenes (II, 1) :

Python :	Mais entrons dans le Louvre il est desia haut iour.
L'Homme de Chambre :	Entrez vous voila ià au milieu de la Court.
Python :	Voicy ià Anti-mars qui deurs moy s'aduanee Pour m'embrasser la cuisse en toute reuerence, Et bien braue Anti-mars qu'est-il besoin de moy.
Anti-mars :	Il n'y a rien de frais si ce n'est que le Roy Vous fait commandement me donner vostre espée.
Python :	Ie la veux rendre encor pour la France occupée Et luy faire service avec humilité.
Anti-mars :	Monsieur donnez la moy puis que sa Maiesté Vous le va commandant sur peine de la vie.

Python continues to argue and Antimars to repeat his order until

(1) I have added the words enclosed in brackets. In III, 1 the king calls Arlin his cousin ; Cleridam, Theocrat, and Toleon, princes of the blood ; and says that they were all at Soissons when the news of Concini's death reached them. As Cleridam speaks of having made Concini abandon Péronne, the name must represent Longueville, who took the town in 1616, and not de Luynes, as Lacroix suggests (*Soleinne*, no. 3729). He is also wrong in identifying Theocrat with Villeroi, who was not a prince of the blood. He identifies Arlin and Toleon as I do. I was at first inclined to accept his identification of Lydor de G. as de Guise, but Lydor and Alcé plan the murder of Concini, with which de Guise had nothing to do, while the name Lydor, which probably represents the author's pronunciation of *lis d'or*, resembles that of Aymelis, assigned to de Luynes in the *Magicienne*. I can explain only as a misprint the G. that follows Lydor. If the latter name does represent de Luynes, Alcé D. D. may well represent his accomplice, Deageant de St-Martin. Lacroix interprets Ruburo as Montalto, a Venetian astrologer, but, as no letters are given after the name, it is probable that the author had no real person in mind.

the former starts to draw his sword and is put to death. In the following act two crowds of bourgeois meet a troupe of street-porters, who are dragging Python's body through the mud, and question them :

Où l'allez vous mener, l'allez vous mettre en Seine,
Ou bien au mont Faucon, et quoy à quel propos
Auez vous violé sa tombe et son repos.

1 TROUPE DES CROCHETEURS

Et quoy demandez vous vne chose vulgaire,
Ne sçauiez-vous pas bien que tousiours d'ordinaire
L'on deterre les corps des traistres desloyaux,
Comme ne deuant estre inhumez aux tombeaux
De nos predecesseurs.

2 BANDE DES BOURGEOIS

Et où l'allez vous mettre.

2 TROUPE DES CROCHETEURS

Trainé par les ruisseaux luy faire reconnoistre
En la place Royale, en la place Maubert,
Et par tous les carrefours ou plus de peuple appert,
Qu'il a iniustement comme vn traistre sans foy
Attenté sur l'Estat et les thresors du Roy.

1 BANDE DES BOURGEOIS

Vous nous contez icy de ioyeuses merueilles,
Mais quoy ou sont ses doigts, son nez, et ses oreilles.

1 TROUPE DES CROCHETEURS

Nous les auons coupez et vendus à poids d'or,
Comme il vouloit la France et les François encor.

The play is written from the standpoint of a Norman. Reference is made to the fortifying of Quillebeuf, to Concini's designs upon Fort Sainte-Catherine at Rouen, and to the descent of the Normans from Rollo. Its chief importance lies in the evidence it furnishes as to the bitter feeling in both Normandy and Paris against Italian intruders. The references to Parisian squares is unusual for the period, though they were to figure conspicuously in plays composed some fifteen years later.

LA MAGICIENNE ÉTRANGÈRE has, in general, similar characteristics. It is dedicated to Louis XIII in verses that congratulate him upon getting rid of these "Hydres rigoureux", for

Ce fut vous par Victry si on croit le vulgaire,
Mais moy, cet argument (Sire), ainsi ie ne crois,
Car le Ciel par Victry vous esmeut à le faire †,
Pour déliurer la France et le peuple François.

The characters are : "Le grand Pan François [Louis XIII], Aymelis de L. [de Luynes], Leontide de V. [de Vendôme], Almidor de N. [de Nevers], Argente du M. [du Maine], Lucidor de L. [de Longueville²], Le Solon François [de Verdun (?)³]", three furies, a guardian angel, Leonora Galigai, two "conseillers", an executioner, the ghosts of Concini and Leonora, a certain Tenebrion, and two "docteurs". The subject is one that was to tempt Alfred de Vigny two centuries later, but the dramatic possibilities of the theme are hardly realized in this play. The Grand Pan, after deliberating with the princes and Solon, orders the trial of Leonora Galigai, who will evidently not have unprejudiced judges. A scene follows, unnecessary to the action, in which Aleceton, Thésiphone, and Mégère would go to her assistance, but are prevented by the guardian angel of France, who warns them :

Non, non le Souuerain qui cognoit vos malices,
Vous fera retourner en vos noirs precipices,
Sy vous osez troubler de France le repos,
Et metamorphoser le monde à vn chaos,
Hé ! quoy ignorez-vous que sa toute puissance,
Depuis traize cens ans me fait garder la France ?
Du Turc, de l'Espagnol, du Germain, du Gregeois,
Du Breton du Flamand, du Hongre et de l'Anglois,

(1) This idea is expressed in almost the same words at the end of I, 1 :

L'Eternel par Victry ce beau coup ma fait faire.

(2) There is less information in this play than in the preceding on which to base identifications, but we are helped in the last four cases by the use of the same initials in the other play. Lacroix (*Soleinne*, no. 3730) interprets "de V." as de Villeroy, apparently because he had done so in the case of *Phébus*, but he seems to have been mistaken in both instances.

(3) Lacroix, *loc. cit.*, identifies this character as the président Deslandes. If the author had a definite individual in mind, it is more likely to have been de Verdun, for, according to the *Relation de la mort du Mareschal d'Ancre* (Michaud et Poujoulat, XIX, 477), the parliament appointed "deux présidents et deux conseillers, sçavoir monsieur de Verdun, monsieur Seguiet, monsieur Courtin et monsieur des Landes, pour informer, interroger, faire et parfaire ledit proces", referring to that of Leonora Galigai, and M. Batiffol (*Le Roi Louis XIII à vingt ans*, Paris, Calmann-Lévy, p. 20) refers, in the same connection, to the "accusations portées par les commissaires Courtin et Delande". In the play the trial is conducted by Solon and two "conseillers". These last must represent Courtin and Delande, while Solon represents de Verdun, who was "premier président".

Et de cent nations dont l'espee inhumaine
Pensoit du sang François faire rougir la Seine.

One of the sisters leads away the others with the line :

Allons, c'est trop long temps en ce lieu caqueté ¹.

The trial follows, in which Leonora is questioned by Solon and the "conseillers". They accuse her of having stirred up discord and caused the princes to be arrested, also of practising black art. Under threat of torture, she finally confesses that she is a sorceress and even gives the ingredients of her potions, which include

De l'encens masculin, des pepins de Citrouilles,
Du suaire de mort et des os de Grenouilles.

She is condemned to be decapitated and burned. Exhorted to repent by the two "docteurs", she has an edifying end. She refuses to have her eyes bandaged, prays, and urges her son not to follow her example. But this is not the last we see of her, for she reappears as a spirit and meets the shade of Concini in the lower world. Their conversation is both comic and ghastly :

- C. : Qui vous a fait venir en ce maigre riuage ?
L. : Celuy qui à Paris guarist du mal des dents.
C. : Que nous sommes subiets à beaucoup d'accidents,
Et quoy, donc, vous auez esté decapitée.
L. : Ouy et morte en après dedans vn feu iettée.
C. : C'estoit pour vous tenir vn peu plus chaudement
Que la Cour vous a fait bailler ce chastiment.
L. : Le peuple a mis ma cendre en après dans la Seine.
C. : Je me plains de cela car i'aurons de la peine
A retrouver nos os çà et là dispersez
Quand Dieu reueillera les peuples trespassez.

A fourth act shows the king rejoicing with the great nobles over the destruction of Concini and his wife, whose evil deeds are enumerated. The nobles do not forget to praise Henri IV as well as Louis XIII, who would render thanks to God and then celebrate his victory by feats of equitation.

Like *Phébus* the play should be primarily regarded as a political pamphlet, dealing accurately enough with events and feelings of

(1) Cf. the conclusion of the *Perfidie d'Aman* (pub. 1622), where the executioner leads away Haman with the remark, "C'est par trop caquetté".

the day. As literature, on the other hand, it has no importance. The author is so blinded by his hatred of the Italians that he puts into their mouths their own condemnation. The influence of such productions will be exerted on writings like the *mazarinades* rather than on the drama of later years.

CHAPTER IV

RACAN AND THEOPHILE. PLAYS FROM 1619 TO 1624

I. — General Characteristics

The years that precede Richelieu's return to power are important in the history of the French stage because they mark the entrance of poets into the growing company of dramatists and with them the emphasis shifts from the plot to the emotions of the characters, the versification becomes more correct, and one finds more frequently plays that show no indecency in situation or language. Racan and Théophile¹ were not only among the three or four leading poets of the day, but they were also nobles, well known at court. If they wrote plays for professional actors, no other persons of good birth need hesitate to do so. Moreover, their plays, the *Bergeries* and *Pyrame*, are the first of the century to acquire permanent fame. At the same time Hardy's influence is increased by the fact that he begins to publish his plays. Except for the tragi-comedies that he may have written in these years, the genre almost disappears, but tragedies and pastorals flourish, while certain farces attract enough attention to justify their publication.

A larger number of plays are produced than in the preceding period. Paris supersedes Rouen as the city where the majority of them are printed, although the latter city and Troyes retain some importance in this respect. The patrons of the drama to whom plays are dedicated include the king and queen of France, the Duke of Bavaria, and the Duke of Nemours, as well as persons of merely local importance. There are still a number of anonymous plays. Troterel, Mainfray, and Isaac Du Ryer, who figured in the last chapter, belong also in this. Racan, Théophile¹, and Hardy have

(1) As we shall see, he had written for the stage before this period, but his play must have had little importance since not even the titles have been preserved.

been mentioned. Other writers of the period, with the possible exception of Bazire d'Amblainville and of Colletet's friend, Cottignon de la Charnays, are practically unknown. They include Denis Coppée, bourgeois of Huy, and a certain Coignée de Bourron. For their plots authors of tragedy turned, as their predecessors had done, to the classics, Christian tradition, modern romance, and recent happenings, but they showed less variety in the first category, for only two ancient writers, Ovid and Apuleius, are used as sources. Fewer plays are based on saints' lives, but a larger number on Italian fiction. It is now for the first time that the plot of a play is taken from the *Astrée*.

Characters are not unlike those we have already met, but Aristotelian heroes are now confined to tragedies of classical inspiration. We find occasionally the classical nurse and the nameless messenger, as well as the ghost. Children and priests take part in a few plays. Supernatural beings are not infrequent. Stock comic characters are reduced to the pastoral satyr and the valet and braggart of the farce. Psychological struggles almost disappear¹. The unity of time is observed in the *Bergeries*, intentionally, perhaps, if we may judge by the frequent references to time in the play. Elsewhere, as in the *Chasse royale* and *Pyrame*, its observance seems to be due to the nature of the subject. Though there is a tendency towards concentration, there is no intentional observance of the classical rules for unity of place or action. The situation in regard to the proprieties is much the same. They are not violated in the *Bergeries* and *Pasithée*. The language of *Pyrame* is also without vulgarity, but there is fighting on the stage. This is the case in a number of other plays, while the dialogue in some of the pastorals and farces is at times obscene. Comic passages are found in many of the plays. In a few, chiefly the *Bergeries* and *Gillette*, manners are portrayed. A larger number of plays than formerly are divided into five acts and subdivided into scenes. The alexandrine is becoming more generally recognized as the standard meter. Only two plays are written in verse of ten syllables, only a farce and the farcical scenes of the *Folie de Silène* in verses of eight syllables. The chorus is retained in the *Bergeries* as a literary reminiscence, but nowhere else except in plays written by Belgian authors, out of touch with the dramatic movement of the day. Two plays, the *Mariage d'amour* and *Iris*, show definite examples of *stances*, though this title is not yet applied to them. There are songs in the

(1) Except in the *Bergeries*, IV, 4, and *Pyrame*, III, 1.

latter play and in the *Bergeries*. These tendencies are significant, indicating phenomena that will play a more important part in the works of the next generation. Finally it should be noted that with the *Bergeries* and the *Berger inconnu* Malherbe's ideas of verse writing begin to influence the drama.

By far the most important plays discussed in this chapter are the *Bergeries* and *Pyrame*. Next in interest are those that possess a considerable comic element—farces written for Tabarin or for the Hôtel de Bourgogne, Troterel's *Gillette*, and the anonymous *Folie de Silène*—and a pastoral noteworthy on account of its style, the *Berger inconnu*. *Aman*, *Charite*, and the plays of the *Théâtre françois* carry in their text considerable evidence of representing the taste of the average audience of the time. Other plays, on the contrary, are obviously written to be played in schools or religious houses, and others are political rather than dramatic in purpose. I will first discuss the movements of troupes and the evidence of amateur performances of plays, all but one of which are lost, next the two outstanding plays of the period, and finally the other pieces that have survived, under the headings of tragedy, tragi-comedy and pastoral, farce, personal and political plays. The large number of tragedies is striking, in view of the fact that there is only one tragi-comedy to be discussed, for, a few years later, the relative importance of the two genres was to be reversed.

II. — Performances

The Comédiens du Roi rented the Hôtel de Bourgogne for the last months of 1619 and the early fall of 1621¹, but towards the end of the latter year or early in the following they must have played elsewhere, for, on Feb. 16, 1622, they were fined for having done so². The theater was also rented in 1621 to the company of Andreini and to that of Gasteau and Husson³. The following summer it was leased to the French troupe of the Prince d'Orange, one of whose members at the time was Montdory. In the fall the Comédiens du Roi returned and were there again in 1623 and 1624. The theater was occupied again by the company of the Prince d'Orange from Sept. 5 to Oct. 21, 1624⁴, in spite of an unpleasant experience they had to undergo on Oct. 4, when their arrest was ordered for

(1) Fransen, *R. H. L.*, XXXIV (1927), 353.

(2) Soulié, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

(3) Fransen, *loc. cit.*

(4) *Idem*, pp. 353, 354.

announcing the *Grande bouffonnerie des crocheteurs, crieurs de vin, de la bourgeoisie, du commissaire et du tavernier* ¹. They were forbidden to play it, as it held up to ridicule officers of the law. When they left the Hôtel, they were succeeded by the Comédiens du Roi, who had, on Oct. 16, signed a lease for the theater ². We have also a certain amount of information about performances elsewhere. Belle-rose and probably other actors of the Comédiens du Roi played at Bourges in 1619 ³. A *jeu de paume* had been rented to a troupe before Oct. 13, 1621, by Etienne Robin, who lived at Paris, rue Bourg-l'Abbé ⁴. M. Fransen ⁵ has noted the presence of the Prince d'Orange's players at Utrecht in April, 1619, and thinks they were probably at Amsterdam in May. He finds French actors at Lille in 1619 and 1620, at Utrecht in January of the latter year, at the Hague in March, 1620, and January, 1623, and he has published an interesting document of April 10, 1624, concerning the formation of a new troupe, composed of the celebrated Montdory, Husson, La Barre, de Beaupré, his wife, and other actors.

Bassompierre ⁶ mentions numerous performances of plays just before Lent, 1622, at Paris and at Lyons during the king's visit in December of that year. Héroard ⁷ refers to the king's seeing plays in the apartments of the queen or of de Luynes in 1619 and 1620, and at Le Plessis in 1619, at Orléans in 1621. On Feb. 23, 1623, "il va à la comédie" with Lesdiguières and Brulart. It is not stated whether the actors were professionals or amateurs, but Bassompierre makes it clear that he witnessed amateurs perform in 1620 at the houses of Chanvallon and Feydeau. He mentions also a performance at a Jesuit school at Poitiers on Sept. 7, 1620, and at Avignon by the scholars of a similar establishment on Nov. 18, 1622 ⁸. Héroard ⁹ states that on Nov. 20, 1621, at Toulouse, the king went at four P. M. "aux Jésuites, voir jouer la tragédie d'*Andromède*". M. Lanson ¹⁰ has collected from various sources evidence to show that a play by Gérard du Marché was given at Namur in 1619, that, on June 17, 1622, three stages were built and machines set up for giving plays in honor of Ignatius Loyola and François Xavier at Douai.

(1) Campardon, *op. cit.*, pp. 278, 279.

(2) Fransen, *Comédiens français en Hollande*, p. 61.

(3) Lanson, *op. cit.*, X, 228.

(4) E. Soulié, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

(5) *Op. cit.*, pp. 54, 55, 58, 63, 72.

(6) *Op. cit.*, pp. 193, 230.

(7) *Op. cit.*, II, 229, 230, 235, 246, 257, 289.

(8) *Op. cit.*, X, 130, 143, 230. Cf. also Héroard, *op. cit.*, II, 249, 283.

(9) *Ibid.*, II, 264.

(10) *Op. cit.*, X, 228-231.

that the Jesuits also gave plays at Ghent in 1623 and a play at Pont-à-Mousson the same year. He lists, moreover, performances of the following lost plays, of which the titles have been preserved :

1619. Tournai. *Eugénie, comédie* (Jesuits),
Cuers (Var). *Ystoire de Judith* (bourgeois or youths).
1621. Annecy. *La mort de César* (children).
Béthune. *Vie de Saint-Alexis* (Jesuits).
1622. Dec. 17. Lyons. *Philippe-Auguste donteur des rebelles en la journée de Bouvines, tragédie*, also a *Pastorelle* and *l'Hercule gaulois*, a pastoral with a ballet (Jesuits).
1624. May 22. Nivelles. *S. Elisabeth royne de Portugal* (Jesuits).
Draguigniant. *Histoire de Heugène* (Pères Observantins).
Histoire des Machabées by Pierre Audibert.
Aug. 25. Metz. *Philis retrouvée ou Pastorelle des Nymphes d'Austrasie* (Jesuits).

The titles of these plays indicate that their authors went to the same sources as their contemporaries who wrote for the professional stage, classical history and mythology, saints' lives, and the Bible. Especially interesting is the patriotic subject of the victory of Bouvines.

One pious play has survived and may be studied as probably typical of those that have disappeared. It is the ÉLECTION DIVINE DE SAINT NICOLAS A L'ARCHEVESCHÉ DE MYRE, by Nicolas Soret¹. Among various introductory anagrams and other poems one is found addressed "aux Escoliers acteurs de l'histoire saint Nicolas composee par M. Soret." Presently we read :

Nous allons commencer... Parquoy Peuple chrestien,
Prestez nous, attentifs vn suaue silence...
Cela estant dit, on imposera silence aux Auditeurs.

At the end of the play is written : "Ce synode episcopal a esté publiquement representé dans l'Église Saint-Antoine de Reims, le 9 jour du mois de may 1624." This is followed by the names of the actors, all but one of whom are said to be natives of Rheims. The play is written in alexandrines without division into acts and scenes. The style, vocabulary, and versification are those of the sixteenth century. The plot is taken from the legend of Saint Nicholas of Myra in Lycia, who is supposed to have flourished in the fourth century and to have been the original of our Santa Claus.

(1) Rheims, Nicolas Constant, 1624 (*approbatio*, March 24), dedicated to Coquillart, a local official. There is a copy at the Arsenal, B. L. 10557, bound with Soret's *Céciliade*, Paris, Pierre Rezé, 1606.

The story as told by Metaphrastes and translated by Surius ¹ is followed, but greatly amplified, chiefly by the speeches of the bishops. They lament the loss of their archbishop and wonder how his successor may best be chosen. After they have gone into the church to ask for guidance, an angel informs them that God, won over by their singing, has chosen for the post a man named Nicholas. He will be the first person to enter the church next day. The bishops are so delighted that one of them proposes singing an Iliad of sacred peans, "soit en Alexandrins, soit en lyriques vers". A more practical brother suggests watching the door till Nicholas arrives. This they do, but have some difficulty in convincing Nicholas that it is his duty to accept the office. We then see the ceremony of his consecration. He renounces the world and is led off to the episcopal mansion while a final song of joy is sung. There is, indeed, a great deal of singing in the play and very little action. There are lengthy arguments, consisting largely of comparisons and classical allusions. We learn, for instance, that, since the hunter closes one eye to shoot, so we must close one eye to the world and open the other to God. Comparisons are also made with the fruitfulness of small trees, with crocodiles, fawns, a man in search of a wife, etc. We hear of Alexander and the "Brachmanes" and of ancient divinities. Little attempt is made to differentiate the various bishops. The work seems to have been written to celebrate a festival and is primarily moral and liturgical. Indeed this kind of play has lost its importance for the development of the drama, which is now found exclusively in plays written for the professional stage.

III. — Les Bergeries and Pyrame

These two plays are so closely associated and so much more important than others of the times that they are treated in a special division of the chapter. Racan and Théophile de Viau were both noblemen, acquainted with military, court, and rural life, and both wrote lyric as well as dramatic verse, but here the resemblance ceases, for Racan ², though protected by his uncle-in-law, the Duke of Bellegarde, and for several years a page in the service of the

(1) Cf. Migne, *P. G.*, CXVI, col. 331 ff.

(2) He was born in Touraine in 1589 and died in 1670. The most complete account of his rather uneventful life is given by Arnould, *Racan*, Paris, A. Colin, 1896.

young king, was awkward and unhappy in society, preferred country life and a regular, domestic existence to that of the court, was distinctly pious and much under the influence of Malherbe, while Théophile was a prominent "libertin", a literary eclectic, was exiled, imprisoned, once condemned to death, yet possessed of the fascinating personality of the universal lover that he was ¹.

Mairet tells us that his *Sylvie* appeared when the plays of Racan et Théophile "conservoient encore dans les meilleurs Esprits cette puissante impression qu'elles avoient justement donnée de leur beauté ²." This is good evidence, not only of the success these plays attained, but of their dates, for it shows that they appeared about the same time and several years before 1626, the date of *Sylvie*. The frères Parfaict ³ recognized the force of this argument when they dated *Pyrame* 1617 and the *Bergeries* 1618, but they supposed that *Sylvie* first appeared in 1621. Had they known its true date, they would have placed *Pyrame* in the year 1622 and the *Bergeries* in 1623. Nevertheless historians of the French stage often keep the dates assigned to the two plays by the frères Parfaict. This is especially true of *Pyrame*. There are, however, some who date them differently. Dannheisser ⁴, the first scholar of recent years to date *Sylvie* correctly, sought to prove that the *Bergeries* came out in 1623, *Pyrame* in 1625, but, with respect to the former play, M. Arnould ⁵ has shown that

(1) For his life consult especially Lachèvre's *Procès du poète Théophile de Viau*, Paris, Champion, 1909, which has superseded the works of Garrisson, *Théophile et Paul de Viau*, Paris, Picard, 1899, and of Käthe Schirmacher, *Théophile de Viau, sein Leben u. seine Werke*, Leipzig, Welter, 1897. Cf. also G. Cohen, *Ecrivains français en Hollande*, Paris, Champion, 1920, pp. 243 ff. Born of a Huguenot family in or near Clairac en Agenois in 1590, he was well educated, may have been at one time a professional dramatist (cf. Rigal, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-107), matriculated with Balzac at the University of Leyden in 1615, and was protected by the comte de Candale and the duc de Montmorency. He fought in the civil war on the side of the Protestants (1615-1616), but, when it was over, received a pension from the king and became an idol of the *jeunesse dorée* and of the poets who would not follow Malherbe. Accused of writing a poem that appeared anonymously in 1619, he was exiled in June of that year, but was allowed to join the royal army in July, 1620. After the campaign, he was again compromised, fled to England, but, regaining favor, returned in Feb., 1621, and fought against the Huguenots. He turned Catholic late in 1622, was accused of immorality and atheism by Père Garasse, was tried the following summer and condemned to be burned with his books. He fled, but was arrested at Le Catelet and, after suffering greatly in prison, was again tried and condemned, this time to banishment, on Sept. 1, 1625. He died a year later at Chantilly, the home of his protector, Montmorency.

(2) "Épître familière sur la tragi-comédie du Cid", in Gasté, *la Querelle du Cid*, Paris, Welter, 1898, p. 286.

(3) IV, 270, 275, 288. They also quote Sorel and Marolles, who give evidence somewhat to the same effect, but weakened by the fact that they both wrote much later than Mairet and that Sorel groups these plays with two that followed them.

(4) *Studien zu Jean de Mairet's Leben u. Wirken*, Ludwigshafen, 1888, pp. 51-85.

(5) *Op. cit.*, pp. 184, 185.

the documents on which he relies are untrustworthy and that the *Bergeries* must have been written before the death of M. de Termes in April, 1621, while, in regard to the latter, M. Lachèvre¹ made known the fact that it had already been published in 1623 and there is every reason to believe that, in common with the great majority of seventeenth century plays, it had been acted sometime before it was published.

M. Arnould's attempt² to assign the date of 1619 to the *Bergeries* from a reference in the play³ to a freshet that had taken place nineteen years before the events described was refuted by M. Mar-san⁴, who showed that the passage was merely a translation of the *Pastor fido*. It is certain, however, that the play was not finished until some time after 1615, when Racan first met M^{me} de Termes, and some time before 1625, the year when it was first printed. It could hardly have been written as late as 1623 or 1624, for Racan refers to it in 1625 as "les folies de ma jeunesse"⁵, or even in 1621 or 1622, when he was actively engaged in a military campaign. On the other hand, 1620 seems a satisfactory date, long enough before *Sylvie*, not too long before its own date of publication, and near enough to the probable date of *Pyrame*, which will be discussed below⁶.

Though it does not figure in the *Mémoire de Mahelot*, the fact that the *BERGERIES* was among the plays acted as late as 1632 is attested by Scudéry in his *Comédie des comédiens*. Its popularity is further indicated by its frequent editions⁷, the mention of it made by the contemporary authors quoted above, by a reference in Du Ryer's *Vendanges de Suresne*⁸, and by the influence it exerted on other plays⁹. It has been studied at great length by M. Arnould¹⁰

(1) *Op. cit.*, pp. 144, 386.

(2) *Op. cit.*, p. 186.

(3) V, 3.

(4) *Op. cit.*, p. 324.

(5) Letter to Malherbe of Jan. 15, 1625. Cf. *Œuvres de Racan*, edition cited, I, 16, and Arnould, *op. cit.*, pp. 185 and 296.

(6) Dr. Schirmacher, *op. cit.*, p. 244, declares that M. Arnould had written her that he accepted the dates assigned to the two plays by the frères Parfaict "parce que je ne crois pas que Racan, ce gentilhomme, qui était timide et nonchalant, eût osé affronter la scène — ce qui était alors une grande hardiesse — s'il n'avait pas eu un exemple à côté de lui". But I do not see the force of this argument, for, as Racan had before him the example of Garnier, Montchrestien, and even of Théophile in his lost plays, he had certainly enough encouragement to write his play before *Pyrame* appeared.

(7) Arnould, *op. cit.*, pp. 643-645, lists 12 editions that appeared from 1625 to 1635.

(8) Cf. the discussion of this play in Chapter IX.

(9) Cf. below, the discussions of *Chryseide*, *Sylvie*, d'Urté's *Sylvanire*, the *Vendanges*, *Amaranthe*, *Doranise*, *Céline*. On the other hand it is stated in the preface to Baussays's *Cydippe* that the *Bergeries* did not make a popular appeal.

(10) *Op. cit.*, pp. 223 ff.

and, to a lesser extent, by M. Marsan ¹. They show that it is based chiefly on Guarini's *Pastor fido*, with many suggestions from the *Aminta* and the *Astrée*, a few from Hardy and Saint François de Sales. Marsan corrects a number of Arnould's conclusions, showing that Racan is by no means the first to locate the scene of a pastoral play in France and that he owes certain motifs to Luigi Groto's *Pentimento amoroso*, also to Montchrestien and other French authors of pastorals. While there is little originality shown in the selection of his material, Racan treats his theme less oratorically than Guarini had done, introducing interesting lyric elements and paying great attention to style and the expression of feeling.

The play is poorly constructed, for there are, besides the extraneous episode of the satyr, three distinct plots, connected only by the common participation in them of certain persons : (1) Arthénice is tricked by Lucidor and a magician into believing that Alcidor loves Ydalie. This drives her to a convent, him to an attempt at suicide. She is moved by this proof of devotion to accept him in the third act. (2) But the Bonne Déesse had warned her in a dream not to marry any one but a native of her district. Old Alcidor turns up in the fifth act with the information that young Alcidor was a foundling and it is proved that he was born in the same region as Arthénice. (3) Ydalie, compromised by Lucidor in his effort to make Arthénice believe Alcidor faithless to her, is condemned to death, but is saved by Lucidor's confession of his own guilt and her innocence. She now accepts the faithful Tisimandre, whom she had repelled during several acts. As Arnould points out, the action is often slow, there are too many monologues, and transitions are poorly made. The pastoral begins, as does *Pyrame*, with three disconnected scenes in which entirely different persons take part. The story almost ends with the third act and again with the fourth. The dénouement is carelessly brought about, with small regard for verisimilitude. New characters appear even in the fifth act. There is, then, no unity of action. On the other hand, the scene is laid in a restricted area, including various localities near Paris. The time involved is less than twenty-four hours and we may conclude from frequent references to sunrise, midday, evening, etc. that this limitation was intentional, but it cannot be determined from the evidence we possess whether Racan is here seeking to observe the unity of time, or is merely following the example of Italian authors of pastorals. In any case the real unity of the play is not a formal

(1) *Op. cit.*, pp. 324-334, 369-371.

one, but is due to the fact that a single tone is preserved throughout. It is free from both chivalric scenes and scenes of buffoonery. The comic element amounts to very little. The supernatural is employed with moderation, for there is neither echo nor oracle, only a magic trick and a prophetic dream, of which the latter, at least, found subsequently in Corneille and Racine, cannot have diminished the general harmony of the mood in which the play is written. This is true also of the scene that seems ridiculous to us, but not to admirers of pastorals, in which Cléante finds himself in a quandary when he discovers three persons who have lost consciousness and exclaims (III, 4) :

Helas ! auquel iray-je ? ils se meurent tous trois !

There are many conventional elements in the play : the dream, magic, the satyr, the proposed sacrifice, the trial, the chain of lovers, the final recognition of the long lost son. Many of the characters resemble those of other pastorals, but there is some originality in the treatment of Silène, who, though an old man, very positive and somewhat coarse, is neither comic nor tyrannical. The heroine is something of a flirt and shows a desire, as Tenant de Latour points out ¹, to be married at all costs, even if she does not get the man she prefers. M. Arnould thinks that Racan is seeking to avenge himself on M^{me} de Termes, deriving this opinion from Racan's letter to Malherbe in which he states that he had originally intended to use a subject well known at court, but that " les desplaisirs que je receus d'une certaine personne qui eût peu s'en attribuer les plus belles aventures me firent resoudre à changer les deux premiers actes, qui estoient desja faits, plustost que de luy donner le contentement de voir l'histoire de ses amours dans mes vers. Il est vray que je suis bien-aise qu'elle porte le nom d'Artenice, et voudroie estre capable d'en faire durer la mémoire aussi long-temps que l'amour que j'ay pour elle ². " To Lucidor, the penitent villain, we owe the only psychological struggle of the play (IV, 4). The name of Philothée, as well as her gracious and sympathetic attitude towards Arthénice, is supposed to be derived from the *Introduction à la vie dévote* (1608) of Saint François de Sales. M. Arnould, in pointing this out, comments on the contrast between the glimpse of convent life given us by Racan and what we know of contemporary Jansenism.

(1) Cf. his edition of Racan, I, 32.

(2) *Ibid.*, I, 16.

The chief importance of the *Bergeries* lies in the style, versification, and treatment of young love and rural life. Racan is probably the first poet to introduce into a play the reforms of Malherbe. Although he protests to his master that "il est impossible que les grandes pieces puissent estre polies comme une ode ou comme une chanson ¹," he leads the way towards the system of verse employed in classical French tragedy. He abolishes hiatus. M. Arnould credits him with the elimination of every *cheville* from this play of 3000 lines. The verse is extremely harmonious, apparently written without effort, certainly clear and precise, contrasting sharply with that of Hardy. There is a chorus at the end of every act but the last, which is followed by an epithalamium. Further metrical variety is given by the introduction of two songs.

There is very little *préciosité* and no bombast. Concrete and familiar expressions abound, as, for instance, "l'un gisoit au maillot" (V, 1), "quelque piece d'argent au coing de mon mouchoir" (IV, 2), "fasse ployer le soc en fendant les guerets" (I, 3). Lovers describe the origin of their passion and its symptoms, but, even when sensuous details are discussed, Racan avoids vulgarity and thus helps establish the decorum of the later classical stage. He is famous for his love of nature, his painting of a peasant family, a village marriage, and other events of country life. His characters are far from being the peasants described in the novels of the last half-century, but, compared with those of his contemporaries, they are notably realistic. He is fond of describing the landscape of the Seine basin at different periods of the day and night, its fields, forests, and streams. Especially famous are the descriptive passages in I, 1, 3, II, 2, IV, 2, the opening monologue of the last act and the description at the end of the play, which has been compared to the *Elegy in a Country Churchyard* :

La nuit viendra bien tost mettre fin à leurs peines ;
 Les ombres des coustaux s'allongent dans les plaines ;
 Desja de toutes parts les laboureurs lassez
 Traînent devers les bourgs leurs coutres renversez ;
 Les bergers ont desja leurs brebis ramenées ;
 Le soleil ne luit plus qu'au haut des cheminées...

As I have said, there is every reason to believe that PYRAME was

(1) *Ibid.*, I, 15.

played some time before it was printed in 1623 ¹, but it could scarcely have been performed while its author was in exile under an accusation that would have made it dangerous to produce the play. Now, according to M. Lachèvre, Théophile was at the height of his popularity in 1619, but was banished on June 14 of that year and remained in disfavor till he joined the army in July, 1620. He then received his pension again, but was soon in new difficulties, fled to England on Oct. 20, and did not return till Feb. 9, 1621. His arrest was ordered on July 11, 1623. Consequently the play must have been performed before June 14, 1619, or after Feb. 9, 1621, for there was hardly time for it to have been prepared for presentation in the brief period in 1620 when he was *persona grata*. Dr. Schirmacher ² would date the play as early as 1617 on account of the examples of *préciosité* found in the last act, for, she argues, he renounced all *préciosité* in the *Elégie à une dame* of 1619 ³. But Théophile's literary conversion meant little more than his becoming a Catholic. One can find examples of affectation in the lyrics of the second part of his works ⁴, written, according to M. Lachèvre ⁵, after July, 1619. Moreover the *Elégie* she quotes proves rather that *Pyrame* is later than the date of composition of this poem, for in the latter we read :

Autresfois quant mes vers ont animé la scène,
L'ordre où j'estois contrainct m'a bien faict de la peine.
Ce travail importun m'a longtemps martyré,
Mais en fin, grâce aux Dieux, je m'en suis retiré.

This means that he had not written a play for some time before 1619, when the *Elégie* was probably composed, or 1620, when it was

(1) Paris, Pierre Billaine, 8°, and Jacques Quesnel, 8°. M. Lachèvre, *op. cit.*, II, 260-265, listed 39 editions of Théophile that contain *Pyrame*. He expanded this list in 1911 (*Une seconde révision des œuvres du poète Théophile de Viau*), citing 73 editions in 1626-1698. M. Léopold Lacour (*op. cit.*, p. 52) thinks that it was not played until 1625 because "généralement, sinon toujours, lorsqu'un auteur publiait une pièce ayant déjà paru sur la scène, c'était dans un volume qu'elle remplissait entièrement avec les "proses" ou les vers qui la concernaient". Unfortunately he gives no evidence to support his contention except to say that M. Lachèvre agrees with him. As a matter of fact, we know far too little about the repertories of this period in the history of the stage to enable us to accept any such theory; cf. my article in *M. L. N.*, XXXIX (1924), 300.

(2) *Op. cit.*, pp. 228-229.

(3) First published in the *Second livre des délices de la poésie française*, 1620; cf. Lachèvre, *op. cit.*, II, 326.

(4) Cf. II, 40 and 50 of Alleaume's edition; better still, these lines written about the peace of 1620 (*Ibid.*, I, 145):

Et le sang fit rougir la Loire
De la honte de nos combats.

(5) *Procès*, I, 5.

published. It does not mean, however, that he did not subsequently return to play writing, and there is quite a little evidence in favor of believing that he did so. If *Pyrame* was written in 1621, we can understand why it was not published in the first part of his works, which appeared that year, and why it was not used against him by his prosecutors in his first trial as it was in his second. Moreover, his references, in the first scene of the third act, to exile suggest that he had already experienced it and certain details of the plot resemble the third part of the *Astrée*, which was not published until 1619. The same arguments might be used to prove that he wrote the play in 1622, but that date is less satisfactory than 1621 because the *Bergeries*, which must have been written about the same time, could hardly have been brought out later than 1620. 1621 is, therefore, the most probable date for *Pyrame*.

On Aug. 19, 1623, the play had the honor of a public burning along with the rest of the second part of his works. A witness declared on Nov. 22, 1624, that he had seen the manuscript of the play and, during the poet's trial, lines from the last scene were cited to prove that he denied the immortality of the soul. Nevertheless, in Oct., 1625, just after Théophile's release from prison, it was successfully acted at court ¹ and, before March 8, 1627, at Rambouillet, when M^{lle} de Rambouillet took the part of Pyrame ². It still had its place in the repertory of the Hôtel de Bourgogne in 1633-1634 ³. Mahelot gives not only a list of the scenery and properties required for its performance, but also a drawing that shows how the stage should be decorated. With the possible exception of some of Hardy's tragi-comedies it is the oldest play that Mahelot mentions, a fact that shows how well it was received by the public. Georges de Scudéry testifies to its universal popularity when he adds it to the repertory of the *Comédie des comédiens* (pub. 1635), II, 1 :

Nous auons encor tout ce ieu imprimé, le Pirame de Theophile, Poëme, qui n'est mauuais qu'en ce qu'il a esté trop bon : car excepté ceux qui n'ont point de memoire, il ne se trouue personne qui ne le sçache par cœur, de sorte que ses raretez empeschent qu'il ne soit rare.

It was a model for Mairet's first play, *Chryséide*. Puget de La Serre follows its plot closely in his *Pyrame*. Many plays by the

(1) Lachèvre, *op. cit.*, I, 144, 391, 471, 472, 491, 539.

(2) Cf. Voiture's letter of that date and Tallemant's note, *Œuvres de Voiture*, Ubicini edition, Paris, Charpentier, 1855, I, 28, and E. Magne, *Voiture*, Paris, Mercure de France, 1909, pp. 147, 148.

(3) Cf. my edition of the *Mémoire de Mahelot*, Paris, Champion, 1920, pp. 71, 74.

younger contemporaries of its author were influenced by it¹. Scarron testifies to its reputation, if not to its merit, by making one of the characters in his *Roman comique*² declare that he was never so much touched by the hero's death as he was frightened by the lion. In Beys's *Illustres fous* (pub. 1653), IV, 5, a crazy actor is represented as thinking he is Pyrame, about to kill himself and calling to Thisbé's ghost. D'Aubignac refers to the play twice in his *Pratique du théâtre*³. In the first passage he censures the presence of the wall that extends from the rear towards the front of the stage and through a crack in which the lovers converse :

Car outre que les deux espaces qui estoient deçà et delà ce faux-mur, representoient les deux chambres de Thisbé et de Pyrame, et qu'il estoit contre toute apparence de raison, qu'en ce même lieu le Roy vint parler à ses Confidens, et moins encore qu'une Lyonne y vint faire peur à Thisbé, je demanderois volontiers, par quel moyen supposé dans la vérité de l'action, cette muraille devoit visible et invisible ? par quel enchantement elle empêchoit ces deux Amans de se voir et n'empêchoit pas les autres ?

The second passage is more complimentary. He finds that spectators are not moved by Pyrame's lament, "quoy qu'excellent", over the supposed death of Thisbé because they know that she is alive, but that as soon as he prepares to kill himself, "il n'y a pas un des Spectateurs qui ne frémissent." He goes on to tell of a girl who was seeing her first play and told her mother that Pyrame must be informed that his sweetheart was not dead, "tant il est vray que ce moment portoit les Spectateurs dans les interests de ce Personnage !" Still later in the century Pradon mentions the play in the preface to his own *Pyrame*⁴. Finally Boileau gave it permanent, but unfavorable fame by his comment⁵ upon the lines :

Ha ! voicy le poignard qui du sang de son maistre
S'est souillé laschement ; il en rougit le traistre !

The history of the reputation of this couplet is interesting. It was at first extensively imitated. Mairet wrote in his *Sylvie* (l. 1705):

(1) Cf. below, the discussions of *Argénis et Poliarque*, *l'Hypocondriaque*, *la Génèreuse Allemande*, *Cydicpe*, *Florivale et Orcade*, and *Virginie*.

(2) Part I, Chap. X, cited by Rigal, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

(3) Pp. 104, 333 in the edition of P. Martino, Paris, Champion, 1927.

(4) Cf. Garriçon, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

(5) V, 2. Boileau's comment is found in the preface to the edition of his works that appeared in 1701 : "Quelle extravagance, bon Dieu ! de vouloir que la rougeur du sang dont est teint le poignard d'un homme qui vient de s'en tuer lui-même soit un effet de la honte qu'a ce poignard de l'avoir tué !"

Ce fer qui va rougir de ton ingratitude ;

Du Ryer in his *Argénis* (I, 2) :

...on void rougir la plaine
De la honte et du sang de ceux de Licogene ;

P. B. in *Cléonice* (V, 3) :

Ce glaive dans son sang rougira de sa honte.

Various other examples could be cited ¹, if I had space for them. But, as *préciosité* began to lessen its hold on playwrights, a reaction against the couplet and against other lines in Théophile's last act set in and Dalibray criticized them severely as substituting cleverness for feeling, though he admitted Théophile's general merit as a poet ². Boileau merely repeated the substance of Dalibray's censure, a fact that has not, I believe, been pointed out hitherto. At any rate Boileau has the credit for making the lines known to every French school-boy, an honor that he now shares with Rostand, thanks to the latter's use of them in *Cyrano's* tirade on his nose. Indeed, Boileau made of Théophile's once famous play merely the container for an absurd couplet. The lines deserved his criticism and he could have found in *Pyrame* conceits that were still more absurd, but he was by no means justified in condemning on that account the whole tragedy, for there is in it the expression of more genuine passion and of more genuine emotion in the presence of nature than one can find in any of the poems of Boileau.

The source is, of course, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, IV, 55-166. The main details of the myth are kept, but Ovid's meager narrative is greatly expanded and emphasis is placed on the human relationships rather than on the discoloration of mulberries by the hero's blood. Ovid mentions only the lovers, their fathers, and the lion. Théophile introduces Thisbé's mother, but not her father, who might have been only a duplicate of Pyrame's. He provides each character with an attendant, adds the king, and makes him a rival of Pyrame.

(1) Cf. Auvray, *Madonte*, II, 6 and III, 2 (cited by Magendie, *op. cit.*, p. 443) ; Du Ryer, *Argénis et Poliarque*, I, 1 ; Bridard, *Uranie*, IV, 2 ; Chabrol, *Orizelle*, I, 2 ; Du Rocher, *Mélize*, V, 7, and *Indienne amoureuse*, I, 4, III, 5, IV, 6 ; Corneille, *Veuve*, III, 1 (original edition) ; Benserade, *Cléopâtre*, I, 1.

(2) Cf. the preface to his translation of Tasso's *Aminta*, published in 1632, and my discussion of it in Chapter VII, below.

He also introduces three of this monarch's followers and gives to the heroine's mother a dream, which has no effect upon the action, but is used to increase the pathos of the tragedy by causing the mother's change of heart when it is just too late to save the lovers. The rôle of the king has a real function, for it makes necessary the immediate flight of Pyrame and thus gives his conduct stronger motivation than in the original. It resembles the episode of Gondebaut, Chryséide, and Arimant in the third part of the *Astrée*, where we find a similar rivalry between a king and a subject over a girl who prefers the latter, but the resemblance is not sufficiently close to make one sure that Théophile imitated d'Urfé. The same statement can be made in regard to its relationship to the *Bergeries*¹. On the other hand, the couplet (III, 1) :

Le moindre chien vivant vaut mieux que cent cohortes
De tygres, de lyons, ou de pantheres mortes,

must come from *Ecclesiastes*, IX, 4.

A much more important influence has hitherto been overlooked. It is that of Baïf's *Meurier*, published in his *Euvres en rime* of 1573². Both authors add to Ovid's brief narrative the rôle of Thisbé's mother, explain Pyrame's delay as due to certain importunate persons, and have the following resemblances in thought or expression :

Baïf, II, 167 : Cuidant ainsi de ce feu l'empescher,
Mais elle fit la belle trebucher
En plus grand feu.

Pyrame, II, 2 : ...on n'a fait que jetter
Du souffre dans la flamme afin de l'irriter.

Baïf, II, 169 : Quoy ? par les chams les douces tourterelles

(1) Both plays contrast the freedom of birds to express their love and the restraint that lovers have to experience (*Bergeries*, I, 3; *Pyrame*, II, 2). Both comment on the evil influence of the stars (*Bergeries*, I, 2; *Pyrame*, III, 2). A line in *Pyrame*, IV, 1,

On n'oït que le silence, on ne voit rien que l'ombre,
resembles the verses in the opening scene of the *Bergeries* :
J'ouvre et hausse la veûe, et ne voit rien parestre
Que l'ombre de la nuit.

Tenant de Latour, in his edition of Racan, p. 26, comments on the resemblance between this last passage and a verse of the abbé Delille :

Il ne voit que la nuit, n'entend que le silence.

As a matter of fact, this last line is much closer to Théophile than it is to Racan. Théophile Gautier, indeed, in his *Grotesques* declared that Théophile was the source of Delille's line.

(2) Cf. Marty-Laveaux's edition, Paris, Lemerre, 1883, II, 165-182

- Font librement leurs amours mutuelles,
 Et, sans perir comme nous languissans,
 En doux baisers sont d'amour jouissans ?
- Pyrame*, II, 2 : Helas ! ne pourrons-nous jamais dire qu'un mot !
 Les oyseaux dans les bois ont toute la journée
 A chanter la fureur qu'amour leur a donnée.
- Baïf*, II 175 : Ha ! ie voy bien, ô Pucelle innocente,
 Que tu es morte ou que tu sois absente,
 Et moy meurdrier ie vy.
- Pyrame*, V, 1 : C'est à mes cruautés à qui ie dois la peine
 De la mort la moins juste et la plus inhumaine.
- V, 2 : Comment ! il ne vit plus ! et je ne suis pas morte !
- Baïf*, II, 176 : Mais vous Lyons, qui l'avez deuoree...
 Faites de moy, faites vostre pasture,
 Vos gorges soyent au moins la sepulture
 De deux amans, et vos ventres comblez
 Soyent le cercueil de nos cors assemblez.
- Pyrame*, V, 1 : En toy, lyon, mon ame a fait ses funerailles...
 Encores tu ne m'as devoré qu'à demi ;
 Acheve ton repas...
 Toy, son vivant cercueil, reviens me devorer.

These passages leave no doubt, I think, as to the imitation. Théophile's *préciosité* goes much farther than his predecessor's, but his affectation is not of Spanish or Italian origin, for it comes from a member of the Pléiade. This imitation of Baïf makes it very improbable that he was influenced by Marino. Robiou and Dr. Schirmacher¹ have pointed out four passages of the latter's *Sampogna*² in which there is a certain amount of resemblance to *Pyrame*, but, with one exception³, these similarities are the same as some of those that exist between Baïf and Théophile, while in other cases Théophile is much nearer to Baïf than he is to Marino. Moreover, as the latter's poem was not published until 1620, it would have been difficult for Théophile to have derived suggestions from him. It is more reasonable to suppose that both were imitators of Baïf.

The incidents of the play occur within a period of less than twenty-four hours. The scene is laid in Babylon and at the tomb of Ninus,

(1) *Op. cit.*, pp. 236, 237.

(2) Venice, 1621, pp. 184-234.

(3) Both authors ascribe a feeling of pity to the wall that separates the two houses, as Ovid and Baïf do not do, but this conceit might easily have occurred independently to Marino and Théophile. There is no evidence to show that the latter owed anything to Gongora, as Ebert supposed ; cf. his *Entwicklungsgeschichte der französischen Tragödie*, Gotha, 1856, p. 201. He probably was misled by Pui-busque, *Histoire comparée des littératures espagnole et française*, Paris, 1843, II, 71, 72.

not far from the city. There is but one interest, the tragic passion of the lovers, even if the unity of action is violated by the introduction of the scene in which the heroine's mother appears. The only comic scene is at the beginning of the play, when Thisbé laughs at her nurse. There is no vulgarity and only one scene of violence that would not have been admitted into a later classical tragedy, that in which the assailant of the hero is killed on the stage. In spite of the fact, then, that Théophile seems to be following no formal rule, his play is written largely, though not altogether, in accordance with the principles of unity and propriety that were to be generally followed a score of years later.

A certain *gaucherie* is, however, displayed in the structure. Each of the first three scenes consists of a conversation between an important person and an attendant. No effort is made to weld them together. The fifth act is composed of two monologues, an inartistic arrangement for which the nature of the story is only partly responsible. Moreover, with the exception of the lovers, the principal characters never meet. These defects are counterbalanced by the author's use of preparation and suspense. He is careful, for instance, to mention the crack through which the lovers are to speak as early as the beginning of the second act, while the principal event, to which the others lead, is placed at the very end of the play, after which there is no superfluous comment.

The most serious defect is produced by the passages in which Théophile gives free reign to his verbal cleverness. When he is expressing merely a lover's exuberant devotion, he may be pardoned. Just as Romeo longs to be the glove on his lady's hand, Pyrame is jealous of her clothing and of everything that comes in contact with her (IV, 1) :

Mais je me sens jaloux de tout ce qui te touche,
De l'air qui si souvent entre et sort par ta bouche...
Si je pouvois complaire à mon jaloux dessein,
J'empescherois tes yeux de regarder ton sein ;
Ton ombre suit ton corps de trop près, ce me semble
Car nous deux seulement devons aller ensemble.

But in the last act, when the lovers are keyed up to the highest state of fear and anguish, the conceits they express would be intolerable if they were not ridiculous. This is true not only of the blushing dagger, but when the hero puns to the lion,

Qui digeres desjà mon cœur dans tes entrailles,

or when he would worship him because

S'il faut que ma Deesse en ton sang se confonde,
Je te tiens pour l'autel le plus sacré du monde,

or when, after stabbing himself, he cries

Encor un coup Thisbé, par la dernière playe,
Regarde là-dedans si ma douleur est vraie.

If one can, however, overlook these defects, he will find much to admire in the play. Like *Romeo and Juliet*, with which it is related by their common debt to Ovid, it is a tragedy of young love with the same intensity of passion, the same haunting feeling of human weakness in the presence of fate. When Pyrame is forced to fly from the city and Thisbé agrees to join him, he selects, with tragic irony, just the place that will bring them to disaster (IV, 1) :

Là coule un clair ruisseau, tout au pied d'une roche,
Qui, de ses vives eaux entretenant les fleurs,
Maintient à la prairie et l'ame et les couleurs ;
Un arbre tout auprès, fertile en meures blanches,
Nous offre le couvert de ses épaisses branches :
Sçaurions-nous rencontrer un lieu plus à souhait ?

The characterization of some of the secondary rôles is unsatisfactory. The king, Thisbé's mother, and the messenger have no names. Pyrame's father is a typical domestic tyrant ; the king, a typical braggart. The *nourrice*, on the other hand, speaks so simply that she contrasts very favorably with her Senecan predecessors. Note, for instance, the following couplet, addressed to Thisbé (I, 1) :

Tout le monde au logis est en peine de vous,
Et surtout votre mère en est en grand courroux.

The character of Deuxis, the penitent villain, is of distinct interest. He is given the only psychological struggle in the play and his rôle acquires a certain importance owing to the fact that it is his confession to Pyrame that convinces the latter he must leave the city. The lovers, of course, hold the center of the stage. There is marked sincerity in many of their lines, contrasting with the affectation we have already noted. Pyrame gives to love the same importance that Old Horace, in Corneille, gives to patriotism and expresses himself in much the same way (II, 1) :

Pyrame : Je veux que mon amy, sans feinte et sans reserve,
 Dedans ma passion me complaise et me serve.
 Disarque : Et quoy, si vostre amy vous avoit veu courir
 Dans un danger mortel ?
 Pyrame : Qu'il me laissast mourir.

His magnanimity is shown in the scene in which he pardons Deuxis after the latter had made an attempt upon his life. Thisbé is more than the conventional type of heroine. Her sarcastic remarks to her *nourrice* help to characterize her. Her attitude towards nature is highly interesting. " Thisbé, si mocquée, la Thisbé de Théophile, " writes Remy de Gourmont ¹, " avec quelle grâce délicieuse elle raconte à Bersiane sa peur du bruit, de la vie extérieure, du mouvement des choses ! " And he quotes these lines from the opening scene :

Sçais-tu pas bien que j'ayme à resver, à me taire,
 Et que mon naturel est vn peu solitaire ?
 Que je cherche souvent à m'oster hors du bruiet ?
 Alors, pour dire vray, je hay bien qui me suit ;
 Quelquefois mon chagrin trouveroit importune
 La conversation de la bonne Fortune ;
 La visite d'un Dieu me desobligerait,
 Un rayon du soleil parfois me fâcherait.

Another example of emotional reaction to nature is shown in a passage cited, during Théophile's trial, to prove that he did not believe in the immortality of the soul :

Mais que me sert ton deuil ? Rameaux, prez verdissans,
 Qu'à soulager mon mal vous estes impuissans !
 Quand bien vous en mourriez, on voit la Destinée,
 R'amener vostre vie en ramenant l'année.
 Une fois tous les ans nous vous voyons mourir,
 Une fois tous les ans nous vous voyons fleurir.
 Mais mon Pyrame est mort sans espoir qu'il retourne
 De ces pasles manoirs où son esprit séjourne.
 Depuis que le Soleil nous voit naistre et finir,
 Le premier des deffuncts est encor à venir ².

Théophile replied to his accusers that Thisbé was a pagan, speak-

(1) *Théophile... avec une notice de Remy de Gourmont*, Paris, Mercure de France 1907, p. 222.

(2) V. 2. Cf. Lachèvre, *le Procès de Théophile*, II, 372-373.

ing in a tragedy. He might have offered a similar explanation for the line :

Mais vous n'en sçaviez rien ! Vous estes de faux Dieux ! (V, 1),

or the couplet :

Et moy, si le tombeau laissoit encor' aux ames
Quelque petit rayon de leurs deffuntes flames (II, 2).

On the other hand, though Syllar doubts immortality, Deuxis seems to believe in it (III, 1) and Pyrame refers in the same scene to a " peine eternelle " for the soul of his enemy. He is less orthodox when he supposes that flowers may be the souls of lovers (V, 1) :

O fleurs ! si vos esprits, jamais se transformans,
Despouillèrent les corps des malheureux amans,
S'il en est parmy vous qui se souviennent encore
D'avoir souffert ailleurs qu'en l'empire de Flore...

This preserves too well the spirit of the *Metamorphoses* not to have shocked Théophile's enemy, Father Garasse, but it would not have constituted a danger for his flock. What he might have feared with more justification was the doctrine of the irresistible power of love, expressed several times in the play :

On ne sçauroit dompter la passion humaine ;
Contre amour la raison est importune et vaine ¹ ;
...en amour le crime a des appas (I, 2) ;
Amour n'a point de maistre (II, 1) ;
Laisse faire à Nature : elle me l'[le cœur] a formé (II, 1) ;
Ny le respect d'autrui, ny nostre ame elle-mesme,
Ne se peut empêcher de suivre ce qu'elle ayme (IV, 2).

In these passages Théophile expresses what seems to have been his own opinion. They give to the work a subjective quality that is rare in plays of the period. With them should be considered the resentment of restraint expressed by both lovers and the reference to the pitiless power of kings. Note, for instance, the following passage, which recalls Célimène's retort to Arsinoé in the *Misanthrope* :

(1) I, 2. On the other hand, the king declares (III, 2) :

Tout homme de courage est maistre de son sort.

Ces vieillards, dont l'esprit et le corps abattu
 Erigent l'impuissance en tiltre de vertu,
 Eux-mêmes qui le cours de la nature suivent,
 Qui selon l'appetit de leur vieillesse vivent,
 Pretendent contre nous forcer l'ordre du temps,
 Et que nous soyons vieux en l'âge de vingt ans (II, 2).

If these lines were inspired by the lover in Théophile, the following may be due to his having been exiled :

Pour nous exterminer, quand ils en ont envie,
 Les roys ont cent moyens pour nous oster la vie ;
 Nos jours sont dans leurs mains, ils les peuvent finir ;
 Ils peuvent le plus juste innocemment punir (III, 1).

Finally one should notice the picturesque qualities of this romantic tragedy with the famous wall separating the houses of the hostile families, the lion's cave, the tomb of Ninus, the spring, the mulberry tree, the use of a

Belle nuit, qui me tends tes ombrageuses toiles (V, 1)

and of early dawn at the end of the play. The verse is quite limpid in comparison with that of Hardy¹. The dramatization of the passion and death of two young lovers was thus set in a picturesque and poetic frame with the result that *Pyrame* became one of the three best known plays written in France between Garnier and Corneille. Its influence was exerted directly upon the generation that was soon to follow, not only through the fact that it continued to be acted and read, but because two of the most prominent younger dramatists, Mairet and Scudéry, were disciples of Théophile and the first owes him much of the material of his first two plays².

IV. — Tragedy

The other tragedies that appeared between 1619 and 1624 are of far less importance. They may be divided into those derived from Italian and French fiction, those based on ancient literature, including the Bible, those that form the *Théâtre françois*, and those produced

(1) The versification is less correct than that of Racan, for hiatus is occasionally found. Cf. I, 2, II, 1, III, 1.

(2) Cf. my edition of Mairet's *Chryside* and Marsan's edition of his *Sylvie*.

in Belgium. The division is a convenient one, though not strictly logical, for certain plays in the last two groups belong also in the first or second.

1. TRAGEDIES DERIVED FROM ITALIAN AND FRENCH FICTION

The first of these is LA SOPHRONIE, "tragedie françoise tirée de Torcato Tasco [*sic*]¹." The story of Sofronia and Olindo, as told in the *Jerusalem Delivered*, Canto I, st. 79-86, and Canto II, st. 1-47, is followed in the main, but an episode that takes up a considerable part of the second act is added, certain passages are developed for dramatic effect, and there are anachronisms and repetitions that are not found in the original. When Aladin prepares to defend Jerusalem against the Christians, Ismen suggests his enchanting an image of the Virgin and Child, much as in Tasso except that Aladin is not asked to fetch the image himself and that a man named Orcan² is added, who argues for mildness in Aladin's treatment of his Christian subjects. In the original, Aladin is told of the disappearance of the image, whereas in the play he overhears two of his soldiers lamenting the loss, then, summoning them before him, forces from them the confession that it had been removed while they slept. After preparatory lines in which Olinde sighs for Sophronie, a scene is added that has no equivalent in Tasso and suggests in some respects the *Tragédie Mahommétiste*. Orcan protests against Aladin's determination to put all the Christians to death unless the man who stole the image is discovered. A counsellor declares that the Christians are God's people, whereupon he is bound, led away, and killed by a soldier, who returns to report as follows :

(1) Beauchamps, II, 40, refers only to an edition of Troyes, Nicolas Oudot, 1619, 8°. The frères Parfaict knew of no edition of the play, but mention the fact (III, 547) that Aymard de Veins promised, when he published his *Clorinde* in 1599, to treat subsequently the subject of Sophronie and Olinde. The *Bib. du th. fr.* (I, 325, 326) lists a *Sophronie* published at Rouen by Daniel Cousturier in 1599, 8°, as well as the play referred to by Beauchamps. I have examined an edition of Troyes, Yve Girardon, 1620, 8°, which is in the Bib. Nat., Rés. yf 4676, and is probably a reimpression of the play mentioned by Beauchamps. The question is whether the latter work is merely a new edition of the play published at Rouen by Daniel Cousturier or whether they are different productions. I have compared the plot of the copy at the Bib. Nat. with that of the tragedy of 1599 as given in the *Bib. du th. fr.* The same portion of the *Jerusalem* is utilized in each, but the older play apparently says nothing of Orcan and the image is represented as never having been found. These discrepancies would be enough to prove that the plays are different, if the analyses of the *Bib. du th. fr.* were more complete and more accurate. As it is, I can only say that the later play may be a new edition of the older one, but that it is more likely that it is an independent work.

(2) The name was probably suggested by the Orcano of Canto X, st. 39 ff.

I'ay ouuert sa poitrine et en ay arraché
Le cœur encor tremblant.

Aladin : Je n'en suis pas fâché.
 Mais ou est-il amy ?

Soldat : Tenez, le voila Sire.

Orcan now rebukes Aladin and declares that

Il ny a rien qu'vn Dieu qui habite les cieux
Et tous aultres que luy sont Demons et non Dieux

This might be supposed to be satisfactory doctrine to a Moham-
medan, but in the play no distinction is made between pagans and
followers of the Prophet. Orcan is told to pray to our " Dieu
Mahon ". When he refuses, he is killed and his body is thrown to
wild animals. This episode contributes nothing to the progress
of the main action, which is carried on by Sophronie's effort to save
her people. In the third act she declares to Aladin that it was she
who stole the image, while Olinde seeks to save her by taking the
blame on himself. A contest in generosity follows and both are
about to be burned when Clorinde enters, a veritable *dea ex machina*,
and persuades Aladin to set them free. The concluding scene is a
considerable development of the *Jerusalem*, II, 53. The lovers
thank God and Clorinde and the latter prevails upon Sophronie to
marry Olinde instead of adhering to her resolution to die a virgin.
The changes just pointed out show that the author had a certain
appreciation of dramatic situations and that he had learned the art
of preparing for certain events, though not for all. Though he
seems to pay no attention to rules, his action does not exceed twenty-
four hours or extend beyond the limits of the city and in certain
lines, as well as in the combat in generosity that has been mentioned,
he resembles Corneille. The line

Qui meurt pour sa patrie vit eternellement (III)

is Cornelian in sentiment if not in versification. A little later Tasso's
lines,

Trattiamo il ferro pur noi cavalieri :
Quest'arte è nostra, e'n questa sol si sperì,

are expanded into (V) :

Mettons le fer en œuvre esrouuons les combats,
Et logeons nostre espoir souz l'effort de nos bras.

C'est de là non des sors que prouient la victoire
C'est par le seul chemin qu'on paruiet a la gloire.

The following year another tragedy with a happy ending and of Italian origin was published at Troyes. This was the TRAGÉDIE DES AMOURS DE ZERBIN ET D'ISABELLE, PRINCESSE FUITIVE, "ou il est remarqué les perils et grandes fortunes passées par ledit Zerbin, recherchant son Isabelle par le monde : et comme il est delivré de la mort par Rolland ¹". The source is the *Orlando furioso*, Canto XII, st. 86-91, Canto XIII, st. 1-44, Canto XX, st. 117-129, Canto XXIII, st. 39-69. The facts of the story are kept almost without change, but the manner of presenting them is altered, so that, while the *récit* is by no means eliminated, much that Ariosto relates is acted here. The shipwreck and the subsequent attempt made upon Isabelle occur in the original when she is on her way to join Zerbin in Scotland, but they take place in the play when she is returning from that country to France. We have already learned from her that she had come to Scotland to marry Zerbin and from him that, obliged to go to help Charlemagne against the Saracens, who are besieging Paris, he had left his fiancée with friends who are to sail for France when he is gone and take charge of Isabelle until he returns. The attempt at rape takes place in the second act. Odoric and Chorèbe, the hero's two friends, have different ethical principles. The former holds that

Amour est excusable et n'a point de forfaits,

while Chorèbe argues that

L'homme qui sait dompter ses passions se donne
Sur toutes ² autres labeurs la première couronne.

Despite his fine principles, Chorèbe is killed in the fight that follows and Isabelle would have fallen victim to Odoric but for the arrival of "malladrins ³", who answer her cries and put her assailant to flight. While the original refers to a score of these rescuers, only one is here brought on the stage. He conceals Isabelle in the "creux de ce rocher" and covers the entrance with bushes, but Roland sets her free and is told her story, including details that we have already

(1) Nicolas Oudot, 1621, 8°, Bib. Nat. Ms. fr. 9307. A brief analysis of this play is given by P. Toldo, *Bulletin italien*, 1904, p. 61. As he remarks, the episode on which the play is based is not the one that inspired the *Isabelle* of Montreux, though the two heroines have the same name.

(2) Read *tous*.

(3) *Malandrins*. Ariosto gives *turba*.

heard. Instead of the heroic struggle recounted in the original, there is introduced only a brief contest, in which Roland wounds one of two "malladrins" and puts the other to flight. In the fourth act Zerbin is defeated on the stage by Marphise and obliged to take charge of the evil hag, Cabrine, who soon accuses him of murder, as in the original, and has him condemned to death. When about to be executed, he is rescued by Roland, who reunites the lovers and sees them start for Scotland together.

The play lacks both unity and propriety in the classical sense. The scenes follow one another in artless fashion and new persons are introduced late in the tragedy. It does not possess the religious and political characteristics of *Sophronie*, but resembles it in the dénouement, for in both cases this is brought about by the sudden arrival of a noted warrior who plays the *deus ex machina*, rescues the hero from death, and restores him to the heroine.

No such happy fate awaits the hero of the next tragedy, Pierre Mainfray's *RHODIENNE OU LA CRUAUTÉ DE SOLYMAN* "où l'on voit naïvement décrites les infortunes amoureuses d'Eraste et de Perside," published at Rouen by David du Petit-Val in 1621, 12°. As it was bound with the *Cyrus* of the same author, printed three years before, Brunet dates the two "1618-1621," but this does not mean that there was an earlier edition of the play, for the date "1618" is that of *Cyrus* only. Paul Lacroix (*Soleinne*, no. 991) declares that a *sixain* that precedes the play "peut faire croire que ces pièces n'ont pas été représentées," but the poem in question does not mention *Cyrus* and even its reference to *la Rhodienne* may be understood in a different sense. It runs as follows :

Sur l'eschaffaut superbe en vne Tragedie
On void le braue Acteur d'une façon hardie,
Faire tonner les vers de son graue subiet :
Mais Mainfray, sans acteurs, sans eschaffauts, sans armes,
Nous fait voir des Amours, des combats, des alarmes,
Bref ses vers semblent estre Histrions en effet.

That is, the published form of the play is very dramatic. The lines do not necessarily mean that the piece had never been played. The reader can hardly agree, however, with the opinion expressed in them in regard to the merits of the tragedy, for, though the plot is dramatic enough, the treatment is oratorical and shows little merit on the part of the author. The fact that the source is Jacques Yver's *Printemps* (1572) has been demonstrated by Dr. Ernst Sie-

per ¹, who declares that this is the first of the series of French plays and novels ² derived from this tale and that it owes nothing to English versions of the story. He gives an analysis of the play with a certain amount of criticism and quotation. He finds the monologues tiresome, the dialogues not greatly superior, notes a number of irregularities in rimes and the count of the syllables, and cites at length the passage in which the Sultan gives the history of his predecessors. What he does not notice is that Mainfray used in the second scene of his second act, the point at which the action begins, a passage from the opening scene of his *Cyrus*. The changes he introduces show progress in the art of verse-making :

Cyrus. Soit que le clair Phœbus à la perruque blonde
Sorte des moittes flots pour esclairer le monde,
Ou que vers le Vesper, dans les Thetides eaux,
Acheuant sa carriere, il baigne ses cheuaux :
(Son bel œil tout voyant) qui n'a point de semblable,
Ne voit sur le plancher de la terre habitable
Monarque, Potentat, Prince, Empereur ne Roy,
(En vaillance et bon-heur) qui soit esgal à moy.

Rhodienn. Soit que le clair Phœbus pour darder sa lumiere
Face du firmament déboucher la barriere
Ou que deuers le soir il aille dans les eaux
De l'humide Thetis abbreuuant ses cheuaux,
Si ne voit-il pourtant sur ce globe habitable
Prince ny Roy qui soit à moy seul comparable.

Mainfray suppresses two lines, but keeps the thought and two of the four rimes, omits *chevilles* and unnecessary repetitions, and alters certain antiquated expressions. Such improvements in verse are not accompanied by a corresponding improvement in the structure of the play ³. Sieper points out the fact that Mainfray follows his

(1) *Die Geschichte von Soliman u. Perseda in der neueren Litteratur*, Weimar, 1895, pp. 5-14.

(2) Including M^{lle} de Scudéry's novel, *Ibrahim*, and her brother's play on the same subject.

(3) The first act consists of an interview between the heroine and her *nourrice* in which the former tells the story of her beloved Eraste. He had distinguished himself in a tournament, but had lost a gold chain she had given him. Found by another knight and presented to another woman, the chain had caused Perside to banish Eraste from her presence. He then sought out the man who had found the chain, killed him in a duel, and was obliged to fly for his life. The second act shows us Eraste, who has become a colonel of Janissaries, has captured Belgrade, and is now in high favor with the Sultan, Solyman. The latter boasts of his power and describes the victories of his ancestors. He then bids Eraste lead an expedition against Rhodes, but excuses him when he learns that it is his native city and names Tenedos in his stead. The third act takes place after Rhodes has fallen. Perside, now a prisoner, is resolved to stab herself rather than yield to Solyman, but the

source closely. He is evidently unable to reduce properly so much material to dramatic form. Hence the lengthy exposition and the fragmentary nature of the tragedy, which is lacking in preparation and in the proper transitions from episode to episode. Solyman is a typical blustering monarch. The classical nurse and nameless messenger are retained. The lovers are seen together but twice, once in a scene of recognition, again just before the hero's death. The latter scene would not have been approved by later classicists, for Perside is too mindful of physical necessities (IV, 2) :

Allons mon doux amy, la table est à dressée
Et la viande aussi pour servir disposée.

The play, in short, displays many of the characteristics of the author's *Hercule* and *Cyrus*. It is superior to them only in its versification, but even here Mainfray is far from accepting the rules of Malherbe.

Pierre Cottignon de la Charnays was better known as a poet than a dramatist. A friend of Colletet, Ogier, and other young writers, he joined them on festive occasions when they composed songs, epigrams, odes, etc.¹ Like Colletet he was an admirer of Ronsard and preferred to imitate older writers rather than his contemporaries. Though he wrote only two plays, both inferior to most of those belonging to this period, he deserves to be remembered as the first of many who turned for a plot to the *Astrée*. There he found (Part II, Bk. VI, Part III, Bk. VI), not a pastoral tale, but the heroic story of Madonte and Damon, which he made into a tragedy, entitled *MADONTE*². So slight was his dramatic gift that he failed to see the value of Lériane as a tragic villain, allowing her to do her plotting largely between the acts, and neglected his heroine, leaving her in a dungeon at the end of the play instead of uniting her to the hero. He follows his source quite closely, keeping the order of the

latter, learning from her that she loves Eraste, generously gives his consent to their marriage and makes Eraste governor of Rhodes. The play seems to come to an end, but in the next act we learn that the Sultan is still in love with Perside and is planning to put his rival to death. In the last act a messenger informs the heroine that Eraste has been executed for plotting to restore Rhodes to the Christians and that Solyman will besiege the city in order to win her. Perside dons armor, taunts Solyman from the walls, and is killed by the Turks, who fail to recognize her. Solyman enters the city, finds the body, upbraids his soldiers, and erects a mausoleum to receive the lovers' remains.

(1) Cf. Goujet, XV, 113, 114, 157-160; Lachèvre, *Biô. Rec.*, II, 310, 311, and *Procès de Théophile*, I, 410, 411; E. Roy, *R. H. L.*, XXII (1915), pp. 509-513; P. Lacroix, *Recueil de ballets et mascarades de cour*, Geneva, 1868, IV, 181 ff.

(2) It forms a part of his *Muse champêtre*, Paris, Jacques Villery, 1623, 8° (*priv.*, March 31). For the details of the plot cf. below, my discussion of Auvray's *Madonte*.

events and certain minor characters that might well be omitted. His chief merit lies in the fact that he seemed to see that the tragedy should end with the judicial combat, but, since his play contains only 60 pages and, as I have said, he forgets to terminate it, one wonders whether his leaving out the last episodes of the story as told by d'Urfé is due to restraint or to lassitude. Unlike Auvray, the next man to dramatize the story, he retains the wife of Léontidas, but neither she nor her husband reappears after the first scene of the play. Unlike him, too, he gives names to the fishers, Raymond and Capilot, and keeps the druid without changing him into a hermit. The hero's squire is arrested by these fishermen at the end of the next to last scene and we are kept in the same ignorance in regard to his fate as we are respecting that of the heroine. Such carelessness suggests that it was no more written for the stage than the enigmas, epigrams, etc. that are bound with it. The language is at times antiquated, for we find such expressions as "troupeau chasse-iour" (I, 1), and there is a certain amount of *préciosité*, especially in I, 2, where the heroine pretends to be insulted by Damon's respectful love-making. Yet the dialogue is simple, rapid, and direct, though the play, for its lack of dramatic qualities, deserved to be eclipsed by Auvray's tragi-comedy of the same name.

2. TRAGEDIES DERIVED FROM ANCIENT LITERATURE

The title-page of the next play announces the TRAGÉDIE NOUVELLE DE LA PERFIDIE D'AMAN, MIGNON ET FAVORIS DU ROY ASSUÉRUS, "sa coniuration contre les Juifs, ou l'on voit nayement représenté l'Estat miserable de ceux qui se fient aux grandeurs. Le tout tiré et extraict de l'Ancien testament du liure d'Ester. Auec vne farce plaisante et recreatifue, tirée d'un des plus gentils esprits de ce temps ¹." M. Lanson suggests ² that, since the farce contains the character of Gros Guillaume, "le rapprochement des deux pièces dans un même livret nous montre que nous avons là un spectacle de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne". The only edition of the play that can be found and, I believe, the only one that ever existed was published at Paris by the veuve Ducarroy in 1622, 8°. It has been supposed that there was an earlier edition of 1617. Let us see how this notion originated. Maupoint makes no mention of the play. Beauchamps lists it in his index only. The frères Parfaict, who seldom tell when

(1) Bib. Nat., yf 6536. Arsenal, B. L. 10519.

(2) *R. H. L.*, X (1903), 229.

a play was published, but place in their margin the date when they believe it was first performed, select in this case the year 1617, apparently to correspond to their theory that the tragedy was an allegory inspired by the death of the maréchal d'Ancre, killed in June of that year. As a matter of fact there is no reason to believe that the author had the maréchal d'Ancre in mind when he wrote the play and, as the subject had been dramatized in France four times before this Italian came into power, his death was not needed to make the story of Haman popular with dramatists. The idea, however, that his downfall had been dramatized in the play under discussion met with such favor that we find listed in the *Bib. du th. fr.* an edition of "1617, in-8¹", as well as that of Paris, "Veuve du Carroy, 1622, in-8." It will be noted, however, that the editor of this supposed edition of 1617 is not named. Moreover, one reads below: "La date de cette Tragédie me fait soupçonner que l'Auteur a eu envie de représenter, sous le voile de l'allégorie, la fin du maréchal d'Ancre." This is obviously inspired by the frères Parfaict, for, if the author of the *Bib. du th. fr.* had seen an edition of 1617, he would have given the name of the publisher and that of the town where it was printed, or, if these were omitted in the copy he examined, he would have noted the fact. I conclude that the only edition is that of 1622 and that the play was composed not more than a year or two before that date.

I have been unable to discover any evidence that this play influenced or was influenced by others on the same subject. Like Racine's *Esther* and unlike the plays of Mainfray and Du Ryer, it begins after the departure of Vashti from the palace. What chiefly characterizes it is the very considerable element of farce that has been added to the story². The play opens with a conventional tirade, in which Ahasuerus boasts of his might:

Les Dieux mesme des Cieux me plient les genoux
Et si iamais Iuppin me mettoit en courroux,
Je iure Lacheron qu'il sentiroit ma rage
Car i'en ferois en bref vn terrible carnage...
S'il est Dieu dans les Cieux, ie suis Dieu sur la terre³.

(1) I, 473. It must be owing to this statement that existence has been attributed to this edition by the following scholars: Brunet, Mesnard (*Œuvres de J. Racine*, Paris, Hachette, 1865, III, 448), Bernardin (edition of Racine's *Esther*, Paris, Delagrave, p. 15), Lanson (eleventh edition of Racine's *Esther*, Paris, Hachette, p. 39).

(2) Lines from the play are quoted at some length by the frères Parfaict, IV, 264-268, but their analysis is both inaccurate and incomplete.

(3) Parallels to this last line can be found in *Pyrame* III, 1, *Chrystide*, II, 1005-007, *les Heureuses Infortunes*, I j., I.

He then condescends to receive from his attendants, Zathar and Harbona, an account of the feast that is preparing :

La on voyoit marcher les perdris, les chappons,
Les leuraux, les lapins pour les frians frippons,
Après la venaison faisoit la sentinelle,
Les biches et les cerfs destranchez en rouëlle,
Faisoit ronde partout.

The only cloud has been the behavior of Vashti and that has now passed, for the king has a new " maistresse " and would make her queen. Harbona describes her charms. It is interesting to note that she is, very properly, a brunette :

Elle est vn peu noirette, elle a le teint pourprin.

Esther now invites the king and his " mignon " to sup with her in her " pauillon. " When her invitation has been accepted and she is alone, she gives us a good deal of information about herself and her people under the form of a prayer. This edifying scene is followed by a comic one, laid apparently at Haman's house, whither a devil, Durandu by name, has come after slipping out of Hell on account of the insufficient food he receives there. He gives us an intimate account of Pluto's table manners :

Pluton mange tout seul et quand il est à table
On diroit vn pourceau au milieu de l'estable,
Il se veautre, il se creue, il s'esguise les dents,
En fin il nous deffend de r'entrer la dedans
S'il n'a tout escaillé, il eslargit sa bouche,
Et enfourne à deux mains ce qu'il prent en sa louche,
On n'y escure point, ses plats sont tousiours nets.

His usual occupation is to keep the flames going

De ces chaudrons bouillants, pleins d'hommes et de femmes,

and he wishes to see Haman therein :

Qui ¹ fera beau le voir dans ma grande chaudiere,
Où ie le tourneray et deuant et derriere.

Haman now enters for the first time, boasting as his master had done in the first act and beginning his speech with the phrase,

(1) Qu'il fera.

" Pareil au Roy ie marche, " with which may be compared the opening words of the village Nebuchadnezzar, remembered by Guez de Balzac, " Pareil aux Dieux je marche ¹ ". He admits that Mordecai laughs at him, but consoles himself with the thought that he has prepared a gibbet on which to hang him. Mordecai appears and bandies words with him, after which he recalls the fact, when alone, that Haman is not a " gentilhomme, " but the son of a " couseur. " He trusts in the help of God and of Queen Esther, his cousin ². A comic *entr'acte* follows, in which the actors are Happe-Soupe and Guingnotrou, or Frippe-Sausse as his name appears in the list of characters. They laugh at each other as they purloin food and drink from the royal table :

M'as tu veu autrefois comme toy aux tauernes ?
 M'as tu veu ramener avec que les lanternes ?
 Brinbalant par la ruë : ou estois-tu hier ?
 Quand iamais tu ne peus le tauernier payer ?...
 Pour moy quant tu me vois aller aux cabarets,
 On ne retient iamais mon manteau pour les frais.

The third, last, and most important act of the play shows the king when he learns that an uprising has been suppressed and that Mordecai has saved his life by revealing a plot. As in the Bible, Haman gives his advice to the king about rewarding the man he delights to honor, Esther informs him of the conspiracy against her people, and Haman, as soon as he appears before the king, is ordered hanged on his own gallows. The play ends with an amusing scene between the executioner and the villain :

Bourreau : Va, va, n'aye pas peur, reprends vn peu courage,
 Je te feray plus grand, t'auras de l'aduantage,
 Tu seras esleué quinze pieds de hauteur,
 Au lieu que tu n'auois que cinq pieds de longueur...
 Aman : Helas ma pauvre femme et mes pauvres enfans,
 Que direz-vous de voir mes membres languissans,
 Pendus à vn gibet...
 Bourreau : C'est par trop caquetté.

A very rare play is LA CHARITE OU L'AMOUR SANGUINAIRE, " tragédie tirée du livre de l'Asne Doré de Lucie Apulée ³. " The edition

(1) Cf. his *Entretiens*, cited by Lanson, *op. cit.*, X, 217.

(2) This is the relationship given in the Hebrew Bible, but the *Vulgate* makes him Esther's uncle, a fact that explains why he is called so in the preface to this play and in Racine's *Esther*.

(3) The only copy I have found is that of the Collection Rondel, no. 1015. It is probably this edition that Beauchamps designates by the note (II, 125), " L'Amour sanguinaire, T. C. 1633 ".

I have examined is that of Troyes, Nicolas Oudot, 1634, but Paul Lacroix mentions an edition of Paris, Jean Promé, 1624, which carries a second date and "le S. D. P." at the end. Both editions are attributed to "M. H. L."¹ and dedicated to the duc de Nemours. This last fact confirms the earlier date, for Henri de Savoie, duc de Nemours, who died in 1632, wrote ballets and was the kind of person to whom plays might naturally be dedicated, while his son, who succeeded to the title, was only a boy in 1634. It is, then, reasonable to suppose that the play was dedicated to the older man and this dedication reproduced in the second edition, although it appeared after his death.

The plot is derived from the episode of Charite and Tlepolemus in the eighth book of the *Golden Ass* of Apuleius, with a few suggestions from the seventh². The ass is omitted, probably to make the play easier to act. The omission of the first part of the story, including the rescue of the heroine from the robbers, must be due to the author's desire to concentrate upon a single theme. That the play was written for a stage decorated according to the multiple system is indicated by the stage-direction of the opening scene: "Lepoleme³ et Charite sortans de la grotte, passent au trauers du theatre, et entrent au palais, puis les Volleurs sortent." The latter are drunk and jest about the couple. The scene shifts to the "palais", the home of the heroine's father, who is shown thanking the hero for rescuing his daughter and marrying her to him:

Ioignez vos mains au nom d'vn si sainet mariage⁴.

(1) Cf. *Soleinne*, no. 1015. Lacroix makes one of his many futile attempts at identification. He explains "M. H. L." as "Hulpeau libraire" and "le S. D. P." as indicating the real author, whom he takes to be "le sieur P. Du Peschier". He does not explain the "M.", but probably supposed that it stood for "Monsieur". It should be noted, however, that Du Peschier signs his name "L. D. P.," not "S. D. P." to the *Comédie des comédies* and that Hulpeau was not the publisher of the play. Moreover, the later edition keeps the "M. H. L.," but not the "S. D. P.," indicating that the former represents the name of the author.

(2) The subject had been treated in the tragedy of *Charite* by Picard Poulet, Orléans, Fabian Hotot, 1595. Cf. *Bib. du th. fr.*, I, 297, 298. Unlike the tragedy under discussion, Poulet's play has a chorus and has the villain starve himself on the lovers' tomb.

(3) This name is substituted for the more difficult Tlepolemus.

(4) Among the friends invited to the wedding is Thrasile, who would commit suicide at the thought of losing Carite, but an attendant dissuades him and, shortly after the marriage, suggests that he kill Lépolème while they are hunting together. The hunt is arranged; Lépolème is killed by his rival; his wife, informed of the fact by her husband's ghost, gets revenge by inviting Thrasile to her bedroom, making him drunk, and, while he is asleep, putting out his eyes with a needle. Next morning she kills herself and Thrasile, rendered penitent by blindness, follows her example.

The original account is amplified by a scene of parting between Carite and her husband, a conversation about evil omens, and a visit of Lépolème's ghost to Thrasile. The hunt takes place on the stage. The boar is seen by the actors, but not necessarily by the spectators, for Thrasile kills Lépolème without his rival's assistance. There is much physical violence. A " ruisseau de sang " streams from Thrasile's eyes when he is blinded and two of the subordinate characters, as well as the hero, are killed on the stage. The robbers are forgotten after the first scene. Thrasile's character is made less evil by the introduction of the attendant who suggests his crime. The method by which he kills himself is changed from starvation to stabbing, an undoubted improvement from a dramatic point of view. Suspense is produced by the use of omens and two visits of the hero's ghost. The scene in which Carite pretends to yield to Thrasile's love recalls *l'Ephésienne*, for she first declares that she will never marry again, then that Thrasile is the only man she could consider marrying, then that she might marry him if she were sure of his love, and finally that she will be glad to see him that evening. These are just the steps taken by the widow in the earlier play, but here they are intended to deceive and are consequently not comic. The phrase :

Tu es mort Lepoleme, et moy ie vis encore,

might be supposed to come from *Pyrame* except that the idea is expressed in much the same way by a good many authors. Less conventional are allusions to the " lumière brune " of the moon and Carite's statement that she was " comme éclipsée au milieu des voleurs " when her lover shone upon her¹. Attention has been called to the stage-directions of the first scene. Others show that Carite's bed was visible to the audience and that in the last act the characters " chantent quelque chanson d'yurogne, " the selection of which is left to the actors, as would have been the case in an Italian farce. The play may be compared to such other tragedies of blood and horror as *Mahommétiste*, *le More cruel*, and Hardy's *Scédase* and *Lucrece*².

3. THE " THÉÂTRE FRANÇOIS "

On Oct. 10, 1623, Paul Mansan obtained permission to print a

(1) A comparison inspired, perhaps, by the eclipse of 1621, partially visible in France.

(2) A few other plays based on ancient literature or history will be discussed in the next two sections.

collection of plays entitled the *Théâtre françois*, which would contain " plusieurs Tragedies, Trage-comedies, Pastorales, Intermedes, Prologues et Comedies Françoises, de diuers Auteurs, A sçauoir, le Trebuchement de Phaëton, La Mort de Roger, La Mort de Bradamante, La Folie de Silene et autres semblables œures. " This is interpreted by the frères Parfaict (IV, 362) as meaning that the editor wished to " rassembler tous les Ouvrages Dramatiques, dont les Auteurs ne vouloient pas se faire connoître, et qui n'avoient point encore été imprimés ¹, " but no such intention is expressed in the book and the only play it contains that is not mentioned by name in the *privilège* is the *Andromède délivrée*. It is quite possible, however, that he meant to include other works, for neither tragicomedies, prologues, nor comedies are included in the collection. It was published at Paris in 1624, 8°, by Paul Mansan, either alone or associated with Claude Colet ², and was reprinted by Guillaume Loyson and by Pierre Ribou in 1625 ³. Paul Lacroix made several attempts to identify the authors of the plays. In spite of the fact that the frères Parfaict and the author of the *Bib. du th. fr.* had pointed out that the two plays of the collection that deal with Roger and Bradamante had nothing to do with the tragedies by Bauter or Mëliglosse ⁴, published in 1605, he at first found great similarity between them and wrote, " La préface, signée M viendrait à l'appui de cette supposition ; en tout cas la *Mort de Roger* et la *Mort de Bradamante* sont évidemment de lui. " Unhappily for his theory, the preface is not so signed, but, as M. Marsan puts it ⁵, " se termine par un monogramme assez bizarre, un H coupé d'un trait vertical et chargé de feuillages " Noticing this himself, Lacroix says nothing about Mëliglosse in his first supplement, but interprets the monogram as the equivalent of " I. H. ", which he explains as the initials of Jean Heudon, who had published plays a score of years before the *Théâtre françois* appeared. In his second supplement he gives up this theory for a new one, admitting that the two plays on the death of Roger have nothing to do with each other, but now

(1) Rigal, *Alexandre Hardy*, p. 69, quotes this phrase as if it came from the collection.

(2) The copies at Harvard and at Besançon show both names, as does the copy cited by Marsan, *op. cit.*, p. 510. On the other hand, the frères Parfaict refer to Mansan alone, as does Lacroix in *Soleinne*, no. 1017, 1 sup., no. 188, and 2 sup., no. 133.

(3) *Bib. du th. fr.*, I, 549, and Beauchamps, II, 51, 52. The latter gives the date at which the *privilège* was ceded to Loyson as Feb. 5, 1625.

(4) This opinion was subsequently confirmed by Toldo, *Bulletin italien*, IV, 115. In doing so he refers to " l'hypothèse de Soleinne appuyée par l'avis de Paul Lacroix ", although the hypothesis should be attributed to Lacroix alone.

(5) *Op. cit.*, 347.

holding that the plays of the collection were written by Hardy¹, although, as Rigal shows², Hardy had expressly denied in 1626 that he had written a "rhapsodie de poèmes intitulés *le Théâtre françois*, que je ne désavoue par mépris et ne puis avouer pour mon honneur." As a matter of fact, we do not know who the author was, or whether the plays were written by more than one man, for the "diuers Auteurs" of the *privilège* might be explained by the publisher's intention of printing other plays than the ones that appeared, an intention that may never have been fulfilled. All we can say is that internal evidence makes it practically certain that *la Mort de Roger* and *la Mort de Bradamante* are from the same pen and that the other plays, with the exception of the pastoral, are probably by the author of these two³.

If we leave the pastoral to be discussed with other members of its genre, the plays fall into two groups, those that draw their inspiration from Ovid and those that dramatize Pescatore's sequel to the *Orlando furioso*. The former includes a tragedy, *le Trébuchement de Phaëton*, derived from the first and second books of the *Metamorphoses*⁴, and two *intermèdes*, *Andromède délivrée*⁵ and *Athamas foudroyé*⁶, derived from the fourth and fifth. In *PHAÉTON* the changes from the original are slight. Emphasis is placed upon the opening scene, in which doubt is cast upon Phaeton's origin and he goes in search of his father. There is less space than in the original devoted to the description of the Sun's palace or to the account of the destruction wrought by Phaeton's mad driving. To Earth's appeal is added that of Pluto and of Neptune. Among the rivers that are scorched we find, instead of "amnes Rhenum Rhodanumque",

La Sène des François, des Alemans le Rhin.

The plot includes not only the downfall of Phaeton, but his appointment as Apollo's "concierge", the metamorphosis of his sisters into trees, and the return of his mother, Climène, to Mèrops, her "cher époux," as she calls him somewhat tardily. Obviously the author has little idea of how to construct a play.

(1) Cf. *Soleinne, loc. cit.* and Lacroix, *Dix-septième siècle. Lettres*, p. 267, cited by Rigal, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

(2) *Ibid.* pp. 68, 69.

(3) The dedication, addressed to a friend, but not signed, declares that he is offered "quelques Tragiques sujets, où la Vertu ayant le vice pour concurrent triomphe de cet auersaire", but to most of the plays this statement hardly applies.

(4) I, 748-779; II, 31-128, 208-366, 381-400.

(5) *Ibid.*, IV, 670-771; V, 1-235.

(6) *Ibid.*, IV, 416-542.

While this tragedy is in five acts, the *intermèdes* are in three each. The first of them, *ANDROMÈDE*, has the same subject as one of the *intermèdes* in Montreux's *Arimène*. The play begins when the heroine is being led to the rock, too late to show the tragic flaw, her mother's boasting, which Boissin de Gallardon had employed in his treatment of the same theme. On the other hand, Perseus, as in Corneille's *Andromède*, is made a more generous hero than in the earlier play or in Ovid, for he does not drive a bargain with the heroine's parents before he rescues her. Andromède expresses a patriotic desire to die for her country. There is no indication here, as in Boissin, that she is naked when tied to the rock. As in Montreux, Boissin, and Corneille, Perseus is mounted on Pegasus, a departure from Ovid that was discussed in the last chapter. A calm second act between two violent ones is concerned with preparations for the wedding and for the rejected lover's plot, which is foiled in the third act by Perseus, who turns his enemies into stone and goes off with his bride to be married. *ATHAMAS* is the least close of the plays to its source, for it gives a new termination to the story, inasmuch as the protagonist is struck by Jove's thunder-bolt. The plot includes an account of Juno's indignation over Ino's admiration for Bacchus, her visit to Hades in order to secure Tisiphone's services, the latter's driving Athamas mad and thus causing him to kill his son, Ino's leap with her daughter into the sea, and their metamorphosis, thanks to Neptune, into sea-gods.

Hardy was indignant that these plays should be attributed to him, but it is not strange that they were, for they resemble his productions in structure, vocabulary, versification, and emphasis on the spectacular. They are full of action and display startling occurrences in a way that recalls Hardy's *Gigantomachie* and *Proserpine*. As in his plays, I find in them hiatus, an obsolete vocabulary¹, and the habit of incorporating stage-directions in the dialogue². There is no thought of unities or proprieties. Moreover, a comic element, lacking in Ovid, is furnished in *Phaëton* by Momus, who abounds in indecent remarks at the expense of the gods³, just as he does in the two plays by Hardy mentioned above. That the plays were, like his, written to be played is obvious enough. The "trébuchement" of Phaeton and the combat between Perseus and

(1) Such words as *parangoner*, *guerdoner*, *iaçoi que*, *nuiteux*, *bustuaire*, *se douloir*, *haineurs*, *porte-tonnerre*, *je tressaus*, etc.

(2) As in *Phaëton*, I, i, "Ma mere semble icy venir tout à propos."

(3) For instance, Apollo is told that his "bâtard rôtiira comme vn haran soiet" (III, 1).

the monster take place on the stage. We read the following stage-directions: "Là Andromede est attachée au rocher," "Persée monté sur le cheval Pegase," "Tessal... est changé en pierre," "Là, il brise la teste de Learque son fils," "Là Ino se iette dans la mer avec son fils," "Là Neptune change Ino, et Melicerte en Dieux Marins," "Là Iupiter le foudroye." The evidence points strongly to their having been written under the influence of Hardy's *Proserpine* and *Gigantomachie*.

The characteristics that I have noted in these plays are found also in *LA MORT DE ROGER* and *LA MORT DE BRADAMANTE*, except for the fact that they do not have a classical source. They are derived, not to any considerable extent from the *Orlando* itself, but, as the phrase "imitée de la suite de l'Arioste" indicates, from a continuation of it by Giambattista Pescatore, consisting of two works, called *La Morte di Ruggiero* and *La Vendetta di Ruggiero*¹. Nevertheless Toldo², in listing these plays among French imitations of Ariosto, not only did not mention Pescatore, but declared that "Roger meurt selon le récit de l'Arioste," although this hero, far from dying, has just been happily married when the *Orlando furioso* ends! He demonstrates clearly enough the fact that *la Mort de Roger* owes nothing to Bauter's *Mort de Roger*, published in 1605³, but shows that his reading of the former has been very careless, for he writes :

L'histoire des armes que la sorcellerie d'Alcine amollit et qui formait le clou de la pièce de Bauter est ici supprimée... aussi est-il permis de se demander quelle est la force de ce vainqueur des vainqueurs... si quelques assassins frappant son armure, qui, dans le poème d'Arioste, a su résister à tant de coups, suffisent pour l'abattre.

This despite the fact that, in the play he criticizes (III, 3), Alcine tells us she has "sous un poison infect assujety ses armes" and that, just before Roger is attacked, Ganes says to his men :

Ne redoutez son fer, la défense en est hors (V, 2).

It is quite true, however, that the play is inferior to Bauter's and much less simple, for our interest is divided between two actions that have little relation to each other. One is the murder of Roger,

(1) Both appeared at Venice, the first in 1548, the second in 1556, 1557.

(2) "L'Influence du Furioso dans la littérature française", *Bulletin italien*, 1904, pp. 115-118.

(3) This tragedy is discussed above, in the first chapter. Toldo dates it 1613 and only Bauter's *Rodomontade* 1605, but the two plays were published together at Paris by Clovis Eve in 1605 with a *privilege* of June 28. A copy of this edition, which I examined, was offered for sale at 750 francs by E. Nourry in his catalogue for June, 1925.

the other, omitted by Bauter, the siege of Paris by the Turks. Both of these themes are found in Pescatore's *Morte di Ruggiero*¹ and the events are closely reproduced in the play, though the order is changed and there is little verbal imitation. The retention of the siege of Paris helped to fill out the play, furnished a patriotic theme, and corresponded to the author's love of the spectacular. It takes up more than half the tragedy (I, 3, 4, II, 2, III, 1, 2, IV, V, 2, 3, 4) in spite of the fact that it has no connection with the hero's death. The episode furnishes, however, interesting information about the taste of the times for battle scenes and shows how they were represented. The directions recall the *intermèdes* of *les Amantes*. First we see the Turks investing the city at night, then a citizen calls to arms and Charles and Oger make preparations for defense. An ambassador comes to demand that Charles adopt Islam and become the vassal of King Rosemont, but the French monarch prefers to remain faithful to "celuy qui de son sang nos forfaits racheta." Then follows the attack. "Icy se donne l'assaut." The French are defeated, but Archbishop Turpin encourages Charles to pray for help and, as one must "s'ayder soy-même," to prepare "gabions, poutre, feu grec, grenades, pots." In IV, 3, the stage-directions become numerous: "Ils se preparent à l'assaut... Ils se battent... Ils chassent les Turcs... Les Turcs reuiennent à l'assaut... Icy l'étour² se recomence, et les Turcs sont repoussez... Icy Charles sort, et les meine battant iusques dans la tranchée." Again in the fifth act there is a battle in which the Turks are defeated, after which we read: "Icy se fait vn cliquetis d'armes derriere le theatre... Icy les Turcs leuent le siege de deuant Paris." The victory has been won with the help of Germans from near Liège and, perhaps, of Bradamante and Aymon, who at least prepare (IV, 1) to go to the aid of Charlemagne. Aymon calls:

Qu'on m'appelle Richard, qu'on m'appelle Renaut,
 Aportez mon pauois, apportez-moy ma lance,
 Mon cheual de combat, tous, tous, en diligence;
 Cordieu ce n'est pas fait, il faut recomencer,
 Alons, dépêchons-nous, alons les enfoncer.

Meanwhile the other episode, which gives its name to the play, has been taking its course. Ganelon, here called Ganes, and Alcine

(1) Mr. Andrew Morehouse examined this work for me, a copy of which is in the Harvard library. I have examined Chappuys's translation in an edition of Rouen, Claude le Villain, 1618. The events described in the play are related by Chappuys on pp. 139, 141, 311, 312, 327-329, 341-349.

(2) The combat. Godefroy cites examples from Hardy, Troterel, and Schelandre.

plot separately and together to destroy Roger. He visits her island and they go from there to Roger's court in Bulgaria, disguised, she as Renaut, he as Richardet. They are well received and Alcine has tender memories of Roger (III, 3) :

Quand sur l'émail des fleurs acolez bras à bras,
Je contemploy rauie en cette douce atteinte,
La beauté de ce corps où mon âme estoit jointe.

Nevertheless she poisons his armor and weapons, so that they are of no value when his enemies attack him in the fifth act. When he dies, they leave him,

priué de sepulture,
Aux corbeaux et aux loups qu'il serue de pâture,

but Alcine mourns over his body and decides at the end of the play to give him burial.

La Mort de Bradamante is a sequel to this tragedy. The principal source is Pescatore's *Vendetta di Ruggiero*, though the two stories differ in many respects. As in the play just studied, we find more than one theme. The episode that gives the tragedy its name, Bradamante's vengeance and death (I, 1, II, 3, IV, 2, V, 1), is given no more space than the episode of Brandimart and Fleur de Lis (II, 1, 2, III, 1, IV, 1, 4), and to these are added two minor episodes, the victory of Roland over Agrican (I, 2) and the rescue of Damselle by Brandimart and Roland (III, 2, 3). None of these episodes has anything to do with the main plot, in which Bradamante, despite the fact that she is pregnant and that the nurse warns her that the expedition will be fatal, sets out to avenge Roger, slays Ganes in a duel, and leaves his body. as we have just seen that he had left that of Roger,

Pour servir aux corbeaux, et aux loups d'aliment (II, 3).

The birth of the boy, which almost takes place on the stage, is followed by the death of the heroine after she has pointed out to the infant his father's tomb and left him in care of the nurse (V, 1) :

Et toy chere nourrice embrasse vn peu le soin,
De ce petit enfant à son plus grand besoin ;
Tien luy place de mere, et quelque iour peut-estre,
Il pourra ce bien fait liberal reconoitre.

These events are suggested by Pescatore, in whose account the

death of Ruggiero is avenged and his son is born, but Bradamante does not meet the villain in single combat and he is still living at the end of the poem, though he has been captured by his victim's brothers and his lands laid waste. Moreover Bradamante is accompanied in her search for her husband's body by Marfisa, according to Pescatore¹, and the boy is born before the body is found. Still greater departures from Pescatore are made in the episodes of the French play, which in some respects are closer to the *Orlando furioso*. As in Ariosto's epic, Roland kills Agrican, but the latter is converted, just before his death, to Christianity, which Ariosto had made him indignantly refuse to adopt. Fleurdelis is the heroine of an episode no less licentious than one in which she figures in the *Orlando*, but her paramour is now Brandimart instead of Ricardetto. Their amorous conversation is overheard by a hermit, who is so anxious to take Brandimart's place that, when they fall asleep, he charms them into such deep unconsciousness that he is able to carry off Fleurdelis without awaking her lover. M. Toldo² believed that this portion of the episode was derived from the incident of Angelica and the hermit in the *Orlando*³, but except that in both cases a hermit finds a heroine in a deserted place and seeks unsuccessfully to possess her, the two accounts have little in common. The age of Ariosto's holy man prevents the success of his enterprise, whereas the French author does not tell us how Fleurdelis manages to escape⁴. When Brandimart awakes, he sees three giants carrying off Damoiselle and, with Roland's assistance, kills them and rescues the girl. This episode seems to be independent both of Ariosto and of Pescatore. When, however, he discovers Fleurdelis, tied to a tree by a wild man, and rescues her, he may be imitating the twenty-third canto of Pescatore's poem, in which Bradamante and Marfisa find a naked girl, tied to a tree by a giant, and restore her to the knight who had lost her in the forest.

In this play, as in the *Mort de Roger*, there is little attempt at character portrayal and the author is so little skilled in developing a situation that he is obliged to bring together various themes that have nothing in common except their atmosphere. Style, vocabulary, versification, absence of unity and propriety recall Hardy, as do the presence on the stage of a pregnant woman and an infant and

(1) His *Vendetta di Ruggiero*, Venice, 1556, 1557, was examined for me by Dr. Meta M. Miller.

(2) *Op. cit.*, p. 118.

(3) Canto II, st. 12, 13, Canto VIII, st. 29-32, 45-50.

(4) For the imitation of this incident in Rampale's *Bélinde* cf., below, the discussion of that play.

the considerable amount of physical action, indicated by such stage directions as "Icy se fait vn chameillis derriere le Theatre... Combat" (II, 1, 2) and by observations put into the mouths of spectators: "Le Geant est à bas tout prest de rendre l'âme" (I. 2), or Marphise's call (II, 2):

Poursuiuons, poursuiuons, ils ont quitté la plaine,
La voyant tout de sang et de charogne plène.

4. BELGIAN TRAGEDIES

The tragedies published in Belgium during this period resemble in style and structure those of an earlier generation. Their authors were evidently out of touch with the development that we have noticed in plays written in France. The first of these is Denis Coppée, a bourgeois of Huy. He describes his son as a "petit marchand" in the prefatory epistle that he wrote for one of his grandsons to deliver to Ferdinand, Duke of Bavaria. His plays show him to have been loyal to the duke and to Catholicism. He was assassinated before Oct. 28, 1632, for at that time his fellow-countryman, Bello, wrote a *complainte* with reference to that event¹. His dramatic compositions may be listed as follows²:

1. *La vie de Sainte Justine et de Saint Cyprien*, Liège, Jan Ouwerx, 1621, 12°. 184 pp.

2. *La très-sainte et admirable vie de Madame Sainte-Aldegonde, patronne de Maubeuge*, tragi-comédie, 1622.

3. *L'Exécrable assassinat perpétré par les Janissaires en la personne du Sultan Osman, Empereur de Constantinople*, tragédie, Rouen, Raphaël du Petit-Val, 1623, 8°. 78 pp.

4. *La sanglante et pitoyable tragédie de nostre sauueur et redempteur Jesus-Christ*, Liège, Leonard Streel, 1624, 8°. 56 pp.

5. *Tragédie de S. Lambert patron de Liège*, *ibid*, 1624, 8°. 56 pp.

6. *Pourtrait de fidélité en Marcus Curtius, cheualier romain*, tragédie, Rouen, Raphaël du Petit-Val, 1624, 8°. 55 pp.

7. *La Sanglante Bataille d'entre les Impériaux et Bohèmes, donnée au Parc de l'Estaille, la Reddition de Prague, et ensemble l'origine du trouble de Bohême*, tragédie. Liège, L. Streel, 1624, 8°. 107 pp.

8. *Miracle de Notre-Dame de Cambron, arriué en l'an 1326, le 8 d'avril*, Namur, Jean van Miest, 1647, 12°. 31 pp.

(1) Cf. below, Chap. X.

(2) Cf. Brunet, *Manuel*, *Soleinne*, no. 1022, and Faber, *op. cit.* I, 24. On p. 25 the latter quotes 40 lines from the prologue to the fourth play. Dr. Geoffroy Atkinson informs me that in the *Bibliotheca Belgica* at Brussels it is stated that a copy of the third was in the collection of M. Helbig at Liège in 1890 and at Bonn in the University library.

Brunet states that Valère André¹ admired Coppée's tragic style and thought he should have at Huy the same honor that was accorded to Dante at Florence. Lacroix remarks upon the rarity of the plays and adds: "Ce sont de véritables mystères, où l'on trouve des scènes intéressantes et des vers touchants, mais hérissés de mots semi-flamands"². He places the first and eighth plays among the *desiderata*³ of the *Catalogue Soleinne*. Helbig declares that Coppée was considered the oldest dramatist of the country round Liège. He believes that the first play on the list is lost. I have had access only to those numbered 5 and 7, which are now at the Bib. Nat. Of these the latter is primarily a political play and will therefore be discussed in the last section of this chapter. There remains only no. 5 to be considered here.

Lacroix's characterization of these plays hardly applies to SAINT LAMBERT, which, though lacking the unity of a classical play, has a far simpler plot than that of a medieval mystery. The theme on which the author stumbled, apparently guided by local pride, is one that contains the germ of a psychological tragedy that might have appealed to Corneille. It resembles that of Ponsard's *Agnès de Méranie* inasmuch as it is based on medieval history and concerns a French ruler who has a moral question to solve, whether to continue to live with the woman he loves or to obey the Church, rid himself of his mistress, and recall his wife. The fact that Coppée fell far short of grasping the dramatic significance of this theme shows how little progress the theater had made towards the classical ideal in the remote region in which Coppée was writing. Instead of emphasizing the struggle in the mind of a ruler torn between love and religious duty, he fills out his play with various incidents from the life of Saint Lambert, who, rather than Pepin, is the principal character. Most of the incidents he portrays are found in the fourth life of the saint published in the *Acta Sanctorum*⁴, but, since he does not keep them all and introduces at least one new episode, he may have used some other source⁵.

(1) In *Bibliotheca belgica*, 1643, pp. 184, 185.

(2) *Soleinne*, no. 1022.

(3) *Ibid.*, I, 227.

(4) XLV, 602 ff. (Sept. 17), the twelfth century biography written by Nicolaus Canonicus Leodiensis.

(5) The play begins with the recall of Saint Lambert, Bishop of Maestricht, after he had been exiled by Ebroin to a monastery in the wilderness. His recall is due to the fact that Pepin has come into power and the usurping bishop, Pharamond, has been killed. When Lambert finds that Pepin has put away his wife, Plectrude, and is living with Alpayde, mother of Charles Martel, he insists that Pepin give her up and recall his wife despite Alpayde's entreaties. Pepin finally yields, whereupon his mistress calls on her brother, Dodon, who avenges her by sending men

The author must be credited with introducing a certain amount of preparation. We could have done without Pepin's long account of Frankish history, including how he came to be Mayor of the Palace, but it is important to show, as he does, that Alpayde fears Lambert's coming, about which she has had a dream, and that the saint is anxious for Plectrude's restoration even before he returns to court. On the other hand, Plectrude, who would have made an interesting character, is kept off the stage and incidents are added that do not affect the action, especially in the third act, which is largely given up to a fight between Lambert's brother and his enemies. The scene in which Saint Hubert tells of his adventure with the stag is retained out of respect for the sources. This may also be said of the quaint legend related in the second act, which unwittingly reveals the autocratic and heartless side of seventh century monasticism¹. There is a chorus at the end of each act to comment upon the incidents of the drama. The last of them is recited by the people of Liège in honor of the House of Bavaria. The Christian inspiration of the play does not prevent mythological references. Of special interest is the rôle of the child, Charles Martel, already sufficiently cultured to say to his mother (I) :

Je seray donc à Mars, non au fils de Cyprine.

Another Belgian play is *ANTIOCHE, TRAGÉDIE TRAITANT LE MARTYRE DE SEPT ENFANTS MACHABÉENS*². The author was Brother Jean Baptiste le Francq, born in France, but domiciled elsewhere since the age of five. A monk, obviously familiar with the *Vulgate*, he is interested also in the troubled times in which he lives and writes to draw a parallel between the period of the Maccabees and the present,

who murder the saint, while he is praying before an altar. Our grief is diminished by an angel who reports that the souls of Lambert and the two companions murdered with him are safe in Heaven, that he will be succeeded by his friend, Saint Hubert, and that Pepin will be angry with the murderers, who will kill one another, while Dodon

Enragé, vomira, mourant, ses intestins.

(1) One night, before his return to power, Lambert was up so late praying that, when he was ready to undress, the abbot had already gone to sleep. As the dropping of Lambert's shoe awoke his spiritual director, he was condemned to go and pray out of doors. In order to justify the abbot, the scribe tells us that he did not know that it was Lambert who had dropped the shoe! At any rate, the latter obeyed and eight feet of snow fell while he was standing outside, but it was discovered in the morning that none of it had fallen on him and that he was unhurt by his frigid surroundings.

(2) Antwerp, Hierosme Verdussen, 1625, 8°; *priv.*, March 31. It was dedicated to Adam Lermans, "receveur general" of Antwerp. There is a copy at the Arsenal, B. L. 10529. The play is analyzed by Faber, *op. cit.* I, 25-27. Brunet mentions editions of 1628 and 1635

when poor peasants are maltreated by soldiers. His play has an obvious moral for those who are lacking in humanity and seems from the stage-directions to have been intended for performance. It belongs, however, in style and structure to the sixteenth century rather than to the seventeenth. Indeed the subject had already been dramatized some twenty years before ¹. The only unity it has is that of the chief character, Antiochus Epiphanes, who gives his name to the play and several of whose exploits form the subject of it. The first act is devoted to his victory over Ptolemy and his murder of that monarch, the next three to his persecutions of the Jews, and the last to his death. It is a play from which sexual love is entirely absent. The incidents are drawn from *Second Maccabees*, Chaps. V-IX, but Judas and his brethren are scarcely mentioned. In compensation, the name "Machabee" is applied to one of the seven sons of Solomona, who are all tortured to death before our eyes, and the family is referred to as "Machabéens." Other episodes are concerned with the false report of the king's death, the execution of a mother for circumcising her child, and that of Eleazar for refusing to worship Jupiter and eat pork. The play is full of horrors. When Ptolemy has been killed, Antiochus cries (I, 6) :

Entraissez moy ce tronc, faites en la curée
Au loup, tigre, pantere, et lions affamée [sic].

He orders the circumcised child killed, speaking this couplet (III, 3) :

Sa teste par morceaux des pierres ecachée,
Et ceruelle sortant sur cailloux epanchée.

More pathetic is the mother's plea in the same scene :

Ayez pitie Cesar de ce pauvre petit,
Cesar, Prince bening, oncques il ne mesfit
Ce tendre nourisson, soyez luy pitoyable.

Even Antiochus feels pity for some of his victims, but not enough to make him spare them.

Anachronisms abound. The lines just quoted show the title "Cesar" applied to Antiochus. Ptolemy declares that his enemy "fait le Rhodomont ²." Worship of the Greek gods is directed by a "druyde" and two "Vachez, ou Prestres ³". Although the

(1) Cf. Jean de Virey, *la Machabée*, Rouen, Raphaël du Petit-Val, 1599 and 1611.

(2) I, 3.

(3) II, 4 and III, 1. The singular is *vaché*, for *ez* is merely a writing for *és*. This is the same word as *vacie*, found in the *Astrée* and some of the plays derived from it.

theology of the play is obviously Jewish or Christian, Mègère, Renommée, and Justice each appears and we see "les ames des Egyptiens tués, et Charon leur refusant passage" (I, 6). This last direction is but one of many that prove the author's interest in the spectacular. In I, 5, "Des petits songes arriuent au theatre qui de pauots endorment Ptolomée, et les siens, produisent les monstres qu'il racontera cy apres"; in II, 3, "En l'air opparoissent des gendarmes combattans et s'entend il vn grand cliquetis d'armes¹"; in III, 2, "cette premiere partie de l'hymne est reprise par la musique cependant quil sacrifie pour la premiere fois le quel acheué il recommence pour la deuxiesme fois"; in V, 3, three ghosts of Jews are called out of their graves and in the following scene a dead child, "tout sanglant se presente à ses yeux l'espee au poing le menaçant"; after which "Iustice auec vn grand bruit apparoist d'enhaut et les gens d'Antioche fuyants le delaissent cheut en terre."

Further variety is given by the chorus at the end of all the acts except the last and a ballet in the third (sc. 7). This is the first time, as far as I have been able to determine, that we find a ballet incorporated in a play. We shall meet the same phenomenon in Durval's *Agarite*². Everybody knows how extensively this dramatic device was to be employed by Molière. The first chorus deals with the horrors of war, the second with the woes of Zion. The third, given by the "Genie de nature", the "esprits de l'homme," and the winds, condemns inconstancy. In the fourth the ghosts of the Maccabees rejoice in rising to a happy life while their enemy is to be punished. The language is antiquated. Ptolemy tells his men (I, 3):

Il est temps desormais d'en faire le carnage,
D'enfiler l'ennemy, charger de toutes pars
A grands coups d'espadons les tourne-dos fuyards.

Note also the curious passage in which the druid gives directions for the sacrifice (I, 5):

Entourez vostre chef de ce sacré bandeau
Pour immoler aux Dieux l'accoustumé gasteau
De farine trespure et de tourte salée:
Pied nud, robbe desceinte, et le chef descouuert,
Tournez trois fois en rond, et trois fois tout alert
D'un pied leger sautant branslez l'ardante torche

(1) Cf. above, similar directions for the *Mort de Roger* and the *Mort de Bradamante*.

(2) As in this play, the ballet of *Antioche* appears to have been danced by the winds.

Le soulfre r'allumant en luy donnant l'amorce
D'vn craquettant laurier, pour apaiser les Dieux.

V. TRAGI-COMEDY AND PASTORAL

Only one tragi-comedy belongs to this period apart from those written by Hardy and Coppée's *Sainte-Aldegonde*, of which I have been unable to find a copy. *PASITHÉE*, by Pierre Troterel, was published in 1624 at Rouen by David du Petit-Val, 12^o, with a dedication to Marie Catherine de Mouchy, Dame de Médavy. It echoes the moralizing of this dramatist's *Amour triomphant* and the religious teaching of his *Sainte Agnès*. A couplet in the latter play,

Si j'avois désiré qu'amour fust mon vainqueur
J'eusse élu vostre fils pour maistre de mon cœur,

seems to have suggested one in *Pasithée* (III. 1) :

Si le ciel eust voulu me donner vn mary,
Il eust esté le mien, et l'eusses bien chery.

As Saint Agnes leaves the world for love of God, so Pasithée hies her to a convent. There is, however, in this case the very probable influence of Racan's *Bergeries*, as M. Marsan indicates¹. To this influence may be attributed also the absence of vulgarity and the correctness of the versification. The name of the rival, who does not appear on the stage, Arimant, may come from the third part of the *Astrée*, which had appeared for the first time in 1619. The interposition of Cupid and Destiny and the conflict between super-human powers recall various pastorals, including those of Hardy. The lack of intrigue, the absence of comic characters and of startling events, and the treatment of contemporary manners make the play resemble Corneille's early comedies, from which, however, the interposition of fate and the monotonous style differentiate it sharply.

Separated by a trip he has been obliged to take, Cléostène and Pasithée doubt each other's fidelity, but they recover their faith on his return and are soon to be married when Fortune intervenes and the heroine decides to retire into a convent. After difficulties with the abbess and the father director, Cléostène penetrates into the convent parlor and begs Pasithée to have pity on him. She replies (III, 2) :

(1) *Op. cit.*, p. 348. Cf. the third act of the *Bergeries*. There is no verbal similarity, but the situations are the same.

Je vous serviray plus estant dans ce lieu saint,
Que si ie demeurois dedans le monde feint.

Unconvinced, he argues .

Si chacun s'enfermoit dedans vn monastere,
Le monde deuiendroit vn desert solitaire :
L'estime grandement le vœu de chasteté,
Mais le saint mariage a plus d'vtilité.

She declines to discuss the question :

Vostre conclusion certes est veritable :
Mais ce qui la precede est beaucoup disputable,
Neanmoins ie m'en tais, laissant à nos docteurs
Ces discours releuez, comme à nos directeurs.

Even his threat of suicide does not dissuade her, but Destiny sends Cupid to wound her with a golden dart and, after the latter and Mercury have locked up Fortune, the wedding is easily arranged. None of the unities is observed in the play. Half the characters that appear on the stage are allegorical. The four others are puppets in the hands of fate. Troterel has removed most of the dramatic interest from his play along with the indecency to which he had formerly been attached. That it was written with performance in mind is indicated by the stage-direction of III, 1 : " En ce lieu Philoxene raconte à Cleostene les discours que Pasithée et elle eurent ensemble auant que d'entrer en Religion. " That the play was not entirely forgotten as late as 1652 seems indicated by its mention in Berthod's *Ville de Paris en vers burlesques*, printed in that year ¹.

While some of the pastorals of this period are noteworthy for their authors' acceptance of the ideas of Malherbe and Racan in regard to style, versification, and the proprieties, Isaac Du Ryer remained incorrigible, as a study of his *MARIAGE D'AMOUR* ² will show. The play was written to be acted by children, according to its interesting prologue :

Messieurs, ce n'est point Bruscombille,
Turlupin ny Gautier Garguille
Que vous verrez icy venir,
C'est vne petite ieunesse

(1) Cf. Marty-Laveaux, *Œuvres de P. Corneille*, II, 6.

(2) Paris, Pierre des-Hayes, 1621, 12^o, and 1624.

Plaine d'ardeur et d'allegresse
 Que l'on ne sçauroit plus tenir.
 Le plaisir de ceux-là s'achette
 Il faut fouïller dans la pochette
 Qui veut aller ouyr ces fous,
 Mais l'honneur de vostre silence
 Est l'argent et la recompense
 Que ceux-cy desirent de vous.
 Leur stille est bas et populaire,
 Aussi n'est-il point necessaire
 Qu'un Berger parle en Courtisan,
 Cela n'auroit non plus de grace
 Que de voir en la mesme place
 Vn Guerrier parler Paisan.
 Mais s'ils ne sont pas si grands maistres,
 Et si leurs vers vn peu champestres
 Ne sont pas pollis comme il faut,
 Ils ont vn Dieu qui les domine
 Qui fera que leur bonne mine
 Recompensera ce deffaut.
 Toutes fois ie crains que ces Dames
 Dont les beautez charment les ames
 Bien tost ne me fassent mentir,
 C'est tout-vn en d'eussiez vous rire
 Je m'en vay de ce pas leur dire
 Qu'ils se despachent de sortir.

M. Marsan ¹ has shown that the principal episode of the play is taken from the Selvaggia story in the *Diana* of Montemayor ². To this the dramatist adds two conventional episodes, the satyr's attack and the rivalry of Jupiter, as well as the realistic episode of the soldier. Filis loves Selvage, who loves Silvie, disguised as Mélice. Silvie loves the real Mélice, but nearly loses him to Selvage. In the end Cupid intervenes, marrying Filis and Selvage, Mélice and Silvie. This simple plot is complicated by Jupiter's love of Selvage. Finding that she loves another, he encloses her in a "rocher de feu" to the accompaniment of thunder. Her captivity does not last long, for she is soon released by Mercury, who explains that Juno has made trouble and that Jupiter has promised to give her no cause for jealousy. The episode of the satyr (III, 1, 2) is the familiar one of attempted abduction foiled by a faithful lover. It is interesting only as furnishing a parallel, possibly a source ³, for the ribbon incident in the *Ecole des femmes* :

(1) *Op. cit.*, p. 313.

(2) It is found in the first and fourth books. Isaac Du Ryer substitutes Cupid for Felicia as the *deus ex machina* and applies the magic remedy to two couples instead of one.

(3) Cf. also, below, the discussion of *Cydicpe*.

Silvie : Melice ie me meurs ce puant, c'est ¹ infect
M'a fait.

Mélice : Et quoy mon cœur dis moy que t'at-il faict.

Silvie : Ie ne puis plus parler tant ie suis harassee.

Mélice : Il n'en faut plus douter helas il l'a forcee.

But this she denies. Then follows the realistic episode. A robber, who had formerly been a soldier and remembers that when he was in the army he could get what he wanted, is now reduced to asking alms " au coing d'un bois ". He longs for war, as many of his kind must have done when they saw conditions in France becoming more settled :

Toy qui te plais au sang, au carnage, et aux coups,
Douce guerre, iamais ne te reuerrons-nous.

He longs to hear again the " boute-celle " and, while awaiting the pleasant sound, seeks to rob Silvie, but she tricks him easily and is rescued by her lover. Unlike the veteran, an old man contrasts present prosperity, when (II, 1)

Nous aurons à deux liars la pinte du meilleur,

with the period of war,

Alors que le, qui viue, avec tant d'assurance
Le pistolet au poing voltigeoit par la France
Et que les deux partis nous trauailloient d'impos.

Other realistic touches are given by reference to " ces Almanachs nouveaux " (II, 1), and to the burning of the law-courts (V, 2), an event that had taken place in 1618. There is also talk of a law-suit. At times the language is simple enough to justify the terms used in the prologue. Note, for instance, the following lines (IV, 1) :

Ie ne suis pas de loing, ie suis de ton village,
Tu cognois mes parens, et nostre parentage
Nous voudroient [*sic*] des-ja voir bien mariez tous deux.
Ne reste plus qu'à toy de dire ie le veux.

Comic passages, some of them obscene, are not infrequent. When Selvage reads in Jupiter's letter a reference to it as a " poulet ", she exclaims (II, 2) :

Quoy les poulets sont ils la viande des Dieux

(1) Read *cet*.

Jupiter nourrit-il des poullets dans les Cieux ?
 Dans nostre basse-court i'en nourris plus de mille
 Depuis sept ou huit iours sortis de la coquille ¹.

Again one thinks of Molière's Agnès. Another variety of comic scene is furnished at the end of the third act when Jupiter has Momus put on Mercury's costume. The play is mainly written in alexandrines, but verses of 6 and of 8 syllables are also employed. There are allusions to the king, not only in the old man's speech, but in a game called "aux propos", in which lines are divided among three speakers as follows (I, 2) :

Le Roy	Louys	Le Iuste
Sur tous	Les autres	Roys
Puissant	Vaillant	Auguste
Fera	Florir	Les loix, etc.

In short, the play is a strange mixture of conventional scenes and of others that are inspired by the life that the author knew. Not the least interesting of his devices is the final *remerciement* addressed to the audience after the old man has concluded the last act with the couplet :

Maintenant la bouteille est mon plus grand desduit,
 A vos bonnes graces, Messieurs, bon soir et bonne nuit.

Evidently the children who took the principal rôles then came on to thank the audience :

Hé bien ces folastres Acteurs
 Vous semblent-ils de grands docteurs ?
 Le ieu vaut-il bien la chandelle ?
 Lequel de nous a le mieux fait,
 Nostre petite Pastorelle
 Vous aura-elle satisfait ?...

Receuez-donc avec nos vœux,
 Nos esbats, et nos petits ieux,
 Et combien qu'ils ne soient pas dignes
 Que vous en faciez de l'estat,
 Tesmoignez-nous par quelques signes
 Que vous prenez en gré l'esbat.

While this play is interesting on account of its comic and realistic scenes, as well as its prologue and epilogue, neither in style, nor in

(1) Cf. below, the discussion of the *Vendanges de Suresne*.

versification does it differ substantially from its author's earlier play. On the contrary, *LE BERGER INCONNEU* shows as clearly as does the *Bergeries* that dramatists are now beginning to interest themselves deeply in details of vocabulary and metrics. The author, Gervais de Bazire d'Amblainville, is not so unknown as M. Marsan believed ¹. He accompanied Bertaut when he became Bishop of Séez and was appointed by him "théologal et archidiacre du Houlme." He prepared for his patron a work on the saints of his diocese, delivered his funeral oration, and kept his manuscripts after his death ². M. Marsan ³ refers to his writing a poem to Troterel and mentions his *Bergère de la Palestine*. He also composed *les Amours d'Amynthio et de la Belle Odylie* ⁴, which contains a complimentary poem by Bertaut, as I have pointed out ⁵, and translated from the Greek of a Maronite bishop a pious novel called the *Adventures estranges de Lycidas Cyrien, et Cléorithe Rhodienne contenant la conversion de l'un et la reprobation de l'autre* ⁶. Paul Lacroix ⁷ attributes to him without sufficient evidence three other productions, one of which is an earlier pastoral, *les Infidèles fidèles* (pub. 1603). Only two plays can be assigned to him with certainty, *Arlette*, which will be discussed in a subsequent chapter, and *Lycoris*, which must have been written as early as 1605, for, in the prologue to the edition that appeared in 1621, Bazire writes as follows :

L'Astre qui fait les ans par sa course Phisique,
Auoit par seize fois de son chemin oblique
Parcouru le grand tour,
Depuis que Lycoris, erroit parmy le monde.

It appears to have been printed, however, no earlier than 1614. The editions may be listed as follows :

A. *Lycoris ou l'heureuse bergère*. Tragédie pastorale. Paris, René Ruelle, 1614, 12° (Arsenal, B. L. 11390).

(1) *Op. cit.*, p. 299 : " De celui-ci nous ne savons à peu près rien. "

(2) Cf. Mgr. Grente, *J. Bertaut, évêque de Séez*, Paris, Lecoffre, 1903, pp. 68, 75, 86, 395.

(3) *Op. cit.*, pp. 298, 300, 301.

(4) Paris, Mathieu Guillemot, 1601.

(5) *R. H. L.*, XXXII (1925), 573.

(6) Rouen, Claude le Villain, 1630. There is a copy at the Arsenal, B. L. 15927. An earlier edition, based on a less satisfactory original, had appeared in 1624.

(7) *Soleinne*, 1 sup., no. 149. His only evidence for attributing the pastoral to him is the fact that an imitation of Ariosto called *Angélique délivrée*, printed three years earlier by the same publisher and bound with it, is by " F. G. D. B. ", which he interprets " Frère Gervais de Bazire. "

B. *Lycoris ou l'heureuse bergère*. Tragédie pastorale à neuf personnages. Paris, René Ruelle, 12°. (Arsenal, B. L. 11391. Except for the title-page both recto and verso, this edition is exactly the same as A. It has no date. Some one has dated the copy at the Arsenal 1627, citing the authority of the *Catalogue de Nyon*, no. 17351).

C. *Licoris ou l'heureuse bergère*. Tragédie pastorale à neuf personnages. 12°. (Arsenal, B. L. 11392. As the bottom of the title-page is torn, this edition is hard to identify. The text is almost exactly like B, except that it is printed in Roman characters instead of italics and has a different engraving on the title-page¹. Some one has written " Par Inconnu. Paris, 1631 " with a reference to the *Catalogue de Nyon*, no. 17352.)

D. *Licoris ou l'heureuse bergère*. Tragédie pastorale à neuf personnages. Troyes, Nicolas Oudot, 1627, 8° (*Soleinne*, n° 1011. As the editor adds " Titre raccomm., " I hesitate to accept this evidence. D. may very possibly be the same edition as C.)

E. *Le Berger inconneu*, pastorale, etc., Rouen, Claude le Villain, 1621, 12°. (Arsenal, B. L. 11360.)

F. *La Princesse ou l'heureuse bergère*. Pastorale. Rouen, Claude le Villain, 1627. 12°.

The first four editions listed resemble one another closely, but the last two are quite different. It is in these last that the influence of Malherbe is apparent. Now in the dedication that accompanies E the author declares that he blushes to think of his earlier editions, which, according to him, publishers have printed " plusieurs fois ". This shows that several editions of the play have been entirely lost, or that B and C are incorrectly dated by the *Catalogue de Nyon*, possibly D by Paul Lacroix. After the publication of the *Berger inconneu*, there would be little reason to continue the printing of *Lycoris*, to which the author was certainly opposed. The evidence of the *Catalogue de Nyon* amounts to little. I conclude that B and C probably appeared between 1614 and 1621 and that D is either the same edition as C, or one that appeared at Troyes before 1621.

M. Marsan² has analyzed the pastoral and shown its indebtedness to the *Pentimento amoroso* of Groto, Guarini's *Pastor fido*, and Bonarelli's *Filli di Sciro*. It contains the conventional chain of lovers, the attempted murder by the heroine of an importunate lover, her condemnation to death, the effort of a man she loves to take her place, the reappearance of the shepherd, supposed dead, who turns out to be the lost brother of his would-be murderess, an attempted suicide, a satyr, etc. The chief interest lies, not in these *banalités*, but in the style.

(1) The title-page of this copy with its interesting engraving is reproduced by M. Marsan at the end of his *Pastorale dramatique*, Planche IX.

(2) *Op. cit.*, p. 309.

M. Marsan declares that " la *Lycoris* de Basire, parue en 1614, était devenue, en 1621, le *Berger inconnu* ; en 1627, le poète en tire, après des retouches patientes, la *Princesse ou l'heureuse Bergère* ¹, " and indicates in a note various changes that have been made, quoting from *Lycoris* and la *Princesse* only. But most of the changes found in the *Princesse* are already in the *Berger inconnu*. The other alterations are, with the exception of the use of *stances* in the *Princesse*, unimportant, for already in 1621 the play had been completely reworked in accordance with the principles of Malherbe and Racan. Bazire refers to these changes in his dedication to Marie de Quesnoy, la Présidente de la Fresnaye, who had encouraged him when he planned to give his pastoral " vne robbe à la mode du temps. " He blushes to think of the earlier form and gives in a prologue that he now publishes with his play an allegorical account of how he came to rework *Lycoris*. Near the beginning of this prologue we read :

Le Bouvier détachoit la penible charuë
Du col de ses Toreaux au milieu de la ruë,
Lassé de ses trauaux :
Et le Soleil tombant dans son moitte repaire,
Debridoit ses cheuaux
Alors que la bergere arriua chez son pere.
Changement incroyable ! elle voit l'herbe verte
Fleurir au seuil de l'huis, la maison descouuerte,
L'estable sans Aigneaux :
Sans hoste le logis, les iardins sans closture,
Et tous les pastoureaux
Changez comme il sembloit d'humeur et de nature.

This picturesque treatment of a familiar lyric theme, dear to the French Romantic poets, is followed by her meeting an old shepherd who tells her that her father is living in an " Isle feconde " among barbarous people who have no art and that

Là comme dans son trône est l'impudence assise,
Qui ne reconnoist point le Prince, ny l'Eglise ².

He is making money and neglecting the Muses. She must bring him back. When this mission is undertaken, she discovers him at the source of the Arcadian stream, the Ladon. He promises to take her to Parnassus, for

(1) *Op. cit.*, p. 339. The date assigned to *Lycoris* is incorrect, unless " parue " means " imprimée. "

(2) Does this mean that Bazire had been living in England, already anti-Catholic and soon to be anti-monarchical ? It may be noted in this connection that he dedicated the last form of his play to the Queen of England.

C'est là que je promets de te faire plus belle,
 Je vois quelques deffauts qu'il faut que ie corrige,
 On doit s'assujettir aux lois où nous oblige
 Phebus tout embelly ¹.

When this was done, he remodeled the verses, making use of a "stille diuers."

As to the changes in the text, what M. Marsan says of the *Princesse* may be said of the *Berger inconneu*: "Le rôle du satyre Arcadin est dédoublé... quelques scènes encore sont interverties... les parties inutiles à l'action sont abrégées, tandis que les scènes essentielles prennent plus d'importance." The satyr scene of the second act becomes the second scene instead of the fifth. A scene is added to the third act. The choruses of this act and of the fourth are interchanged. A monologue (IV, 3) of the hero is assigned to the satyr. The incidents of the last scene of the play are now narrated instead of being acted, while Pan is substituted for Diana and some of the details are altered. Most important are the changes in the structure of the lines, now to avoid hiatus, now to eliminate a *cheville*, now to rejuvenate syntax and vocabulary. These changes are found in most of the lines and are made with very considerable skill. The following passage, inspired by Ronsard's famous ode to Helen, will illustrate the modifications Bazire introduced into his text:

Lycoris, I, 2: Tu veux passer l'auril de ton Printemps
 Sans ce doux feu, puis quand tu seras vieille,
 Et que l'Automne aura blanchy ta feuille,
 Te repentant tu maudiras le iour,
 Que tu allas iamais blasmant l'Amour.

Berger: Tu veux passer sans aymer, ton Printemps,
 Puis quand les ans ta face auront ridée,
 Sans passion de chacun regardée,
 Te repentant, tu maudiras le iour
 Que tu fus onc aduersaire d'amour.

Princesse: Tu veux passer sans amour ton Printemps,
 Puis quand les ans ta face auront ridee,
 Sans passion de chacun regardée,
 Tu pleureras, quand il t'en souuiendra,
 Le temps passé, qui plus ne reuiendra.

Other passages that show Bazire's ability at writing picturesque, satirical, and comic lines will be quoted when the *Princesse* is dis-

(1) Reference is made in one of the stanzas to the legend of Pan and Syrinx, possibly a reminiscence of Bertaut, who had used the same myth in a sonnet he had addressed to Bazire. Cf. my note in *R. H. L.*, XXXII (1925), 573.

cussed in the fifth chapter. It should be noted that already in 1621 he had learned to eliminate hiatus and to produce melodious verse.

The vogue of the pastoral was responsible for and must have been aided by translations of two celebrated Italian plays. The first is entitled *LE PASTEUR FIDÈLE*, "tragicomedie pastorale de Jean Baptiste Guarini, caualier tres-illustre... par noble Antoine de Giraud, Lyonnais ¹." It is dedicated to Marie de Médicis, now recovering from the disgrace into which she had fallen six years before. In an *Au lecteur* the author apologizes for never having visited Italy or studied with a teacher. He had worked by "inclination particuliere, et par reflection ou communication de la Latine." He adds that he has gone far with a prose translation of another Italian author, whom he considers "tres-excellent." The *Pastor fido* is translated into alexandrine verse, except that in the five choruses lines of six and of eight syllables are also used. It is possible that the prose translation to which the author refers as well advanced in 1623 is the *FILLIS DE SCIRE* that was published at Toulouse by Raimond Colomiez in 1624, 12^o, without author's name ². In the *Au lecteur* of the latter work we read that "Alcandre... s'esbatit vne apres-disnée à tirer de l'Italien le premier acte de cette Pastorale... en me donnant la liberté de paraphraser en quelques endroits où il me sembla bon, i'acheuay assés tost les quatre actes suiuans, que ie luy fis voir." As Alcandre approved, he published the five acts together "sans redouter la censure rigoureuse de tant de Professeurs en Grammaire, dont aujourd'huy le païs regorge ³". Only a few lines of this translation are not in prose. It follows the original more closely than the subsequent adaptations in verse of the same play by Du Cros and Pichou. It is quite possible that the latter made use of this version, for, in the preface to his *Filis de Scire* (pub. 1631), his friend, Isnard, declares that he had shown Pichou four years earlier a French prose translation of the play and had urged him to make one in verse.

LA FOLIE DE SILÈNE differs from the other plays that make up the *Théâtre françois* discussed earlier in the chapter in the fact that it is a pastoral and that it contains a large comic element. The principal episode concerns a chain of lovers, including a satyr ⁴, an

(1) Paris, Claude Cramoisy, 1623, 12^o; *priv.*, Feb. 24, 1623. It is possible that the translation of the same play by Boisrobert, undertaken in 1618 and completed before 1633, may also belong to this period. Cf. below, p. 526.

(2) *Priv.*, Aug. 7, 1624. There is a copy at the Arsenal, B. L. 4517a.

(3) This phrase is commented upon by E. Roy, *R. H. L.*, IV (1897), 11.

(4) The satyr loves Corile, who loves Tyrsis, who loves Mélite, who loves and is loved by Pimandre. The last two characters suppose themselves to be brother and sister until Pan explains to them that, though brought up as such, they are not

echo, metamorphosis, and the interposition of a god, all elements common to many pastorals. The theme of incest, which the heroine fears when she is not really in danger and does not fear when she is, resembles, as M. Marsan points out ¹, Bonarelli's *Filli di Sciro*, probably the main source of the play. To the pastoral portion of the drama, written in alexandrines, are added a few scenes in verses of eight syllables that are purely farcical in nature and have little to do with the rest of the play ². The men who act in them are old Polite and his valet, Silène. Their language is often obscene. M. Marsan is justified in comparing the jests about Polite's impotence with lines in Grévin's *Esbahis*, I, 2, though the resemblance is not sufficient to prove imitation. Cupid amuses himself by making Silène see constantly before his eyes the vision of a sleeping "fille galante," which leads to his taking his elderly master for this maiden and making love to him. He is finally brought to his senses by all-powerful Pan. Although these scenes are connected with the main plot only by the fact that Polite is the father of the heroine, they have given the play its name. Their farcical character and the abruptness of their introduction recall the use made of such scenes in the *Perfidie d'Aman* and indicate the popularity of the farce in the theater of the day. That the play must have been acted is shown, not only by the introduction of these scenes, but by two passages in which Silène directly addresses the audience. Pursuing the phantom in III, 1, he cries :

Ne crain point qu'en cette assemblée,
Personne en vueille dire rien ;

and at the end of the play :

Ne pensez que ie sois en ce lieu langoureux,
Tandis que iouÿrez des baisers amoureux
De vos cheres moitez, cependant prou vous face,
L'oison n'est pas bien cuit, vous atendrez la farce.

The play seems to require no more than twenty-four hours and a space no larger than a forest, but the work is utterly lacking in unity, for it has scenes that have no effect upon the main action and makes use of a *deus ex machina*. The material is poorly distributed, for most of it is found in the last act. Little effort is made to explain

related to each other and that Mélie is the sister of Tyrsis. The latter, who had been turned into a tree by his rival, the satyr, now consents to marry Corile, who had been saved by Pan when carried off by the satyr.

(1) *Op. cit.*, p. 341.

(2) I, 4 ; III, 1, 4 : and a part of V, 1.

entrances and exits. The variety already noted in the meter is increased by an epithalamium (V, 1) in verses of eight syllables. Lines are repeated in a dialogue (II, 1) and as a refrain ¹ (IV, 1).

A very different play in purpose and tone is the *GUERRIER REPENTY*, "pastorale tragique et morale", an allegorical work written with a pious purpose and with very little knowledge of the stage ². The author describes himself as a "prestre indigne, praecepteur des lettres latines à Saint Wallery sur Somme," but he is sufficiently pleased with his pastoral to warn the "envieux" not to criticize it. He dedicates it to the governor of his town. David Ferrand, his publisher, writes to the author that

Si Ronsard par ses vers fit louer son pays
Tu feras louer Saint Walery sur Somme.

In an introductory ode Jacques Le Clerc, author of the play, praises alike "le Prince" Ronsard, Desportes, Belleau, Garnier, de Porchères, Du Perron, Bertaut, Malherbe, and Trelon, but he imitates in style, vocabulary, and versification the earlier writers rather than Malherbe and Bertaut. At the end of the play he explains the meaning of each character ³. The work is a sort of Pilgrim's Progress in which human interest is entirely sacrificed to allegory. Only a few points in it are worthy of mention. The magician gives a few lines of incantation, beginning "Hara, Biutero, Panthare, Fucara, Rocan," (I, 1) that are at least unusual. A chorus appears at the end of each act but the last. The play is full of classical allusions and compound adjectives (*croule-monde*, *porte-jour*, etc.), preserving even such an ancient word as *gaber*. There are a few comic passages and some that show feeling for nature.

(1) Cf. Marsan, *op. cit.*, p. 338.

(2) M. Marsan, *ibid.*, p. 344, declares that it was "non destiné au théâtre," but it seems to me that it may at least have been acted in the *collège* in which the author taught. "Je renonce, et pour cause, à raconter la pièce," he writes on p. 338. If I do not follow his example, I have, at least, much sympathy with his point of view. It was published at Rouen by David Ferrand, 1625, 8°. There is a copy at the Bib. Nat., ms. fr. 9307.

(3) Phallicide (the sinner), exiled from court, seeks death in a wood (the world), where he meets and fights with a magician (error), father of the giant Dorcas ("superbité"), at whose approach he runs off and drinks water from a stream (hate, madness, or earthly love), poisoned by two satyrs (desires of the flesh). Phallicide now goes mad, spreads terror through the forest, and kills Loricane and his daughter (piety). Loricane and his wife (married people, oppressed by tyranny) have already been introduced and the wife's death described. Rosymène, their daughter, had engaged herself to Pan (God), so that the sinner has now committed both murder and sacrilege. He is saved, however, by Hypsipelle, a hermit, who gives him water with the prayer that the sign of the cross may restore him. This drink (penitence and the eucharist) has a magic effect. The sinner becomes sane, repents, prays, and turns hermit.

Of these, two deserve quotation. In one of them (V, 3) we seem to find an echo of some obscure critic's attack on the Church :

O le beau sermonneur, o le deuot Hermite,
 Le saint patenostreur qui fait le chatemitte
 O le scavant Bigot, il a les dens tous lons
 De barbotter au Ciel du bout de ses talons,
 Qu'il a le nez camus ce Placebo d'Eglise
 Vous diriez que la mort est dessouz sa chemise...
 Il promet la santé quand on se porte bien,
 Et fait tout retrouver quand on ne cherche rien.

The other gives us a surprisingly realistic account of what was doubtless a familiar experience in the life of Brother Jacques of Saint-Valéry-sur-Somme (III, 1) :

Quelque fois, si le temps d'un trompeur hameçon
 Me permet dedans l'eau prendre un petit poisson ;
 Quand au pied d'un rocher, je contemple Neptune
 Soubz la glace mûette, appaisé de rancune
 Et qu'aux raiz de Titan, soubz le clair sain de l'eau
 Fretille en cent destours, le bleu-caillé troupeau ;
 Alors, heureux d'avoir une apreste nouvelle
 Et le bois au foyer, je prens le foin seché
 Qui brûlant, fait brûler le fagot empesché
 D'une ceinture estroitte, et puis dessus la cendre
 Voiant le charbon rouge, hors de flamme s'espandre,
 J'arreste le poisson, qui salé, sur le gril,
 Se cuit sur le brasier ardant d'un feu subtil.

It is unfortunate that Leclerc did not devote himself to the piscatory eclogue instead of the allegorical pastoral.

VI. — Farce

The longest and most interesting play belonging to this genre is *GILLETTE*, published at Rouen by David du Petit-Val in 1620, 12^o, and classified as a " comedie facetieuse par le sieur D ". It is ordinarily attributed to Troterel, whose *Corrivaux*, also a " comedie facetieuse ", appeared as the work of " P. T. S. D. " In both cases the " D " would represent " d'Aves. " Moreover, *Gillette* is bound with Troterel's *Sainte Agnès* and *Pasithée*. The scene of the play is laid in Normandy, where Troterel lived, and a friend writes that the author of the play had treated in his " carmes " the love of shepherds, as Troterel had done in several pastorals. It seems, then, probable that he wrote this farce, for there is no other dramatist of

the period to whom it can be as satisfactorily attributed. The fact that this work and the *Corrivaux* are the only ones assigned to Troterel that are signed with initials only may be due to the fact that they are the only ones that might have caused him to be accused of immorality.

The author writes to " monsieur son intime " that, visiting a relative, " lequel demeure demie lieuë près la ville des Lexobiens ¹, " he heard from his lips, among other " bons contes du tems, " the story " de l'amour follastre d'un gentilhomme son voisin avec sa seruante : auquel ayant pris grand plaisir, parce qu'il est fort comique, ie me suis aduisé de passer huit iours de ces ardantes challeurs caniculaires, à luy donner forme de comédie. " This is signed " vostre intime amy pour vous servir D " and dated " ce 12 aoust 1619. " The play was written, therefore, in the summer of 1619, the year before it was printed, and was based on a real incident, if we can believe the author and his informant. There seems no reason why we should not believe them, for the events of the play are such as occur in real life, even if it is true that they are also the kind of incident popular in older French farces.

Weary of his wife after fifteen years of marriage, for (I, 1)

Vn mets trop souuent présenté
Rend nostre estomach degousté,

a rustic nobleman seeks consolation with the chambermaid. His wife gets wind of the affair, beats the girl and the servant, Maturin, when he protests. Another servant, Agate, now declares that she was mistaken when she accused the nobleman of unfaithfulness and a solution is found by the marriage of the guilty chambermaid to Maturin ². This simple plot is amplified by the visits of the priest, Josse, a name that comes down, along with the 8-syllable verse in which the play is written, from the sixteenth century farce. The characters are well drawn and the first three acts, devoted to the seduction, are well constructed. The last two, on the other hand, are hurried and confused. The importance of the priest in this Calvinistic household is not made clear, the wife is too easily mollified, and it is not well explained why her husband consents so readily to the marriage. Is it from fear of his wife, or because he expects to continue his relations with the girl after her wedding ?

(1) Lisieux.

(2) For further details cf. the analyses given by Toldo, *R. H. L.*, VII (1900), 265-268, and by Lintilhac, *Histoire générale du théâtre en France*, Paris, Flammarion, II, 406, 407.

Despite these faults, as well as the obscenity of certain passages, the play is among the best of its times on account of the simplicity of its plot, its comic force, and the picture of manners that it gives us. Gillette is a wily young person, whose virtue is worth more to her than a ducat. When her master offers her that amount, she returns it, reminding him that she has often vented her wrath upon her lovers (I, 1).

Leur desserrant sur le museau
Un rude coup de mon fuseau,
Ou bien de ma quenouille forte ;

but when he gives her two *pistoles*, she allows him to kiss her, declining to go farther, for her conduct would not be approved by "notre bon homme messire Jean des Jardins¹." Her master replies that in his youth Des Jardins "se donnoit bien du bon temps." a statement he is willing to make (II, 2),

Bien que ma foy prenne origine
De la fine presche Caluine.

Her religious scruples allayed, she next expresses the fear of pregnancy, but he, it seems, is an expert in birth control :

Que cela ne te face peur,
Je sçay preuenir ce malheur
Par vne certaine science
Dont j'ay parfaite experience².

Even after she has been seduced, she assures the priest, Maistre Josse, that her virtue cannot be overcome and afterwards is proud of having deceived him with her manner of "sainte nitouche." But, whatever her moral derelictions, she is an excellent worker, much appreciated by her mistress, who had sought a good servant for ten years before finding her. She makes a report as to wool, cattle, and preparations for dinner. Her mistress asks her (I. 2) :

En ferons-nous bien tost du fil,
Puis apres de la draperie
Pour vestir nostre infanterie ?

(1) Obviously the Protestant pastor, as the nobleman's reply shows. Toldo must have read this passage hurriedly, for he says that she refers to the "sermons de son curé." There is, moreover, no justification here for his conclusion that Troterel was probably a Protestant. What evidence there is rather tends to show that the author of *Sainte Agnès* was a Catholic who takes this opportunity to make light of the virtue of Protestant clergymen.

(2) Toldo held that the source of this promise is Grévin's *Trésorière*, but I have been unable to find any such remark in that play.

Gillette tells her that

Toutes les fois que ie vay traire
Nos vaches, i'en tire deux sçeaux
Et si i'en donne encor aux veaux.

She has made twelve pounds of butter. As for dinner,

Vous avez de bons choux à pomme,
Avec du bœuf qui s'y consomme,
Et du lard et du mouton gras.

Interesting, too, is the picture of the soft-stepping priest (IV, 1) :

Ie m'estois mis icy derriere,
Faignant de dire mon breuiere
Attendant que ie pourrois voir
Gillette que veut decevoir
Son maistre trop amoureux d'elle.

It is a typical farce in its subject, domestic discord ; its characters, all knaves or fools, two of them without names ; in the fact that it is constantly comic and seasoned with obscenity and physical violence ; and in its meter, the verse of eight syllables. We are not surprised, therefore, to find that it ends, as many farces do, with lines addressed directly to the audience :

Allons, mais ie voudrois prier
Cette assistance venerable,
De prendre place à nostre table,
Et d'estre de nostre festin,
Mais ie crains que l'esprit mutin
De nostre bonne Damoiselle
Ne leur brasse quelque querelle
Dont i'aurois vn bien grand é moy
Pource chacun aille chez soy.

We have seen that the *FARCE PLAISANTE ET RÉCRÉATIVE*, " tirée d'un des plus gentils esprits de ce temps, " was published with the *Perfidie d'Aman* in 1622. M. Lanson believes that it was written under Italian influence because it is in prose and because the father, like the Venetian Pantalcone, embarks on one of his ships for the Indies ¹. As it was reprinted, with the exception of a few lines, by the frères Parfaict ², it is unnecessary to quote it at length. It consists chiefly of scenes between Turlupin, Horace, and Florentine that probably suggested to Molière the situation in the *Bourgeois*

(1) *Revue de Paris*, 1901, III, 135.

(2) IV, 254-264.

Gentilhomme in which M. Jourdain is not allowed to call Dorimène's attention to the ring he has given her. Here Florentine sends her lover a ring by Turlupin and Horace uses the same messenger in presenting her with a gold chain. Turlupin cautions each of the lovers not to refer to the present when in the presence of the other, for to do so would produce disastrous consequences, but, when they meet, his theft of the gifts, which, of course, have never been delivered, is brought out in a clever scene :

- Horace : Ma chere ame il y a vne infinité de siecles que ie desire de vous voir, pardonnez au trop de hardiesse que j'ay de vous presenter mon seruice.
- Turlupin : Ne luy parlez pas de la chaisne.
- Horace : O le brouillon, tu m'empeschés en mes discours.
- Florentine : Monsieur ce n'est pas peu d'honneur que vous me faites, de me faire participant de vos affections.
- Turlupin : Gardez sur tout de ne luy parler point de la bague.
- Horace : Madame, vos yeux peuuent grauer toutes sortes de loix sur mon esprit, tant leurs rayons ont de puissance.
- Turlupin : Ne soyez si indiscret que de luy parler de la chaisne.
- Florentine : Monsieur ie vous ay desia tesmoigné en vous enuoyant ma bague combien ie vous affectionnois.
- Turlupin : Teste non pas de ma vie me voilà descouvert.
- Horace : Madame, ie n'ay pas ouy parler de bague : mais il est bien vray que ie vous ay enuoyé vne chaisne d'or par Turlupin.
- Turlupin : O le diable, me voila seduit, il faut tout rendre.
- Horace : Turlupin, ou auez vous mis la bague et la chaisne.
- Turlupin : Les voicy tous deux, Monsieur j'auois oublié à les donner.

The other scenes make a frame for this one. At the beginning of the play Gros Guillaume tells his family that he is leaving for the Irdies and confides his daughter to Turlupin, who promises to keep her out of temptation, but no sooner has the father left than the daughter tells Turlupin of her love for Horace ¹. The presents are sent and the scene just quoted follows, after which Gros Guillaume returns and, hearing that Horace is his son-in-law, threatens to kill Turlupin and give to his daughter and her lover " cent coups de baston. " At this point the text of the play ends with the word " adieu, " but the argument, printed at the beginning of the volume, adds " puis tous se battent, " which gives a familiar ending to the farce. The presence of both Gros Guillaume and Turlupin shows that the play was prepared for the Comédiens du Roi and, as M. Lanson has pointed out, was intended to be played immediately after the

(1) Cf. the *Ecole des femmes*, where the girl is left in charge of servants and is soon in love with another Horace.

Perfidie d'Aman, the tragedy that is published with it. The characters are like those of other farces: the heavy and stupid father, the clever and tricky servant, the grandiloquent lover, and the hypocritical daughter. The language of Turlupin is frequently obscene and that of Gros Guillaume could hardly have passed muster at the Hôtel de Rambouillet, but there is plenty of wit and the interest is not allowed to flag. What has not been noticed is the close resemblance between this farce and one associated with the name of Tabarin, a fact that shows the productions of the famous charlatan were not merely fit for recitation on the Pont-Neuf, but that some of them could easily be adapted to the requirements of the Hôtel de Bourgogne. This consideration makes it necessary to turn our attention now to Tabarin.

The name was a traditional one, doubtless borne by various persons¹. It is associated with that of Mondor, which Jal² has shown to have been adopted by Philippe Girard. M. Magne³ has proved that Tabarin was his brother, Antoine Girard, that they played before Marie de Médicis at Blois in the winter of 1618-1619, that Antoine married Victoire Bianche, known on the stage as Francisquine, and died Nov. 19, 1626. It follows from his investigations that Tabarin was not named Salomon, nor was he the father-in-law of Gaultier-Garguille. He also dismisses as a legend the story⁴ that he was killed by his aristocratic neighbors while trying to live among them as a country gentleman in Orléanais. The brothers seem to have established themselves on the Pont-Neuf in 1618 and to have flourished there for some years. They were primarily charlatans. Tabarin's duties were to wear a mask, "monter en banc", lie, "se moquer de la simplicité du peuple", and "vendre des boulettes"⁵. They were influenced by Italian strolling players, to whom Tabarin refers⁶. The bulk of his work consists of comic monologues and dialogues that cannot be considered plays, but among the compositions that are assigned to him are four farces, first published in 1622 or 1623.⁷ These are all in prose, like

(1) Rigal and Baschet find it at the end of the sixteenth century; cf. Lanson, *loc. cit.*

(2) *Dictionnaire*, p. 1163.

(3) *Le plaisant abbé de Boisrobert*, Paris, Mercure de France, 1909, pp. 50, 51.

(4) Cf. Daniel Martin, *Parlement nouveau*, Strasburg, 1637, Chap. XXVI, cited by Le Paulmier, "Mondor et Tabarin, Seigneurs féodaux," *Mémoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris*, X (1883, pub. 1884), 179-190.

(5) *Œuvres complètes de Tabarin*, edited by G. Aventin, Paris, Jannet, 1858, II, 252.

(6) *Ibid.*, II, 250.

(7) *Ibid.*, I, 219-235, II, 137-155, 193-200. The first two were also published by Fournier, *op. cit.*, pp. 230-234; the last two by H. Frichet, *les Farces de Tabarin*,

the Italian rather than the Old French farce, all short, from seven to nine pages, constantly comic, and frequently obscene. The chief characters are Tabarin, who is usually, though not always, a valet, two old men, called Lucas and Piphagne, two young women, Francisquine and Isabelle, and Captain Rodomont, a *miles gloriosus*. The comic material is of a low order, consisting chiefly of the sack trick, which Toldo declares borrowed from the Italians ¹ and which Tabarin passed on to Molière ², and the deception of two elderly lovers by a man who takes his wife's place at the rendez-vous she has given them. The plays generally end with a quarrel and a fight with sticks. The scenes are laid in Paris and there are references to the Conciergerie, the Châtelet, the Samaritaine, and Montmartre. Italian influence is shown in the speech of certain characters, who mingle the leading Romance languages, but not too much to be understood by their Parisian audience.

Two husbands, Piphagne and Lucas, love each other's wives and send them letters by Tabarin, but he confuses them, each sees the other's letter and pays Tabarin 100 écus to kill his rival. Then they curse each other and all fight. This farce appeared in 1622 with a second, which, as Aventin points out, may have suggested some phrases for the *Médecin malgré lui*. Francisquine complains of her drunken husband, Tabarin, but he, overhearing her, conceals himself and listens while she makes a rendez-vous with Piphagne for midnight and with Lucas for two A. M. When Tabarin reproaches her, she explains that her only motive was money to meet household expenses. He then takes her place, disguised in her old clothes, and beats the lovers after taking their money.

The following year appeared the two farces in which the sack plays an important part. Francisquine shuts up in a sack both her husband and her lover's messenger, then sells the contents to Tabarin, who opens the sack and "tous se battent ³." The other play

Paris, *les Œuvres galantes*, no date, pp. 107-190. Cf. also the edition of d'Harmonville, the *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 1858, pp. 1262-1269 and 1859, pp. 194-203, and Toldo, *op. cit.*, VII, 604, 605.

(1) *Ibid.* He cites the *Campriano*, but it is quite possible that the two versions may have a common origin in the Middle Ages.

(2) Boileau's famous passage shows that he believed the *Fourberies de Scapin* directly inspired by Tabarin. Cf. his *Art poétique*, Chant III :

... et sans honte à Terence allié Tabarin.

Dans ce sac ridicule où Scapin s'enveloppe

Je ne reconnais plus l'auteur du *Misanthrope*.

(3) The author of the *Bib. du th. fr.*, I, 466, 467, analyzes this farce correctly but calls it the "Farce de Francisquine," and declares that it is found in the *Inventaire universel des œuvres de Tabarin*. He evidently has confused it with the farce in which Francisquine's rendez-vous is taken by Tabarin and which did appear in the *Inventaire*.

is very close to the *Farce plaisante et récréative*. As in the latter, there are four characters, an old man, his daughter, her lover, and a valet, but the names are changed. Instead of the farce players of the Hôtel de Bourgogne, Gros Guillaume and Turlupin, are found Lucas and Tabarin. The lover's name is changed from Horace to Rodomont and the girl's from Florentine to Isabelle. As in the other play, the old man prepares to leave for the Indies, fears for his daughter's chastity, and confides her to his valet; when he has gone, the valet makes advances to his daughter, which she repels indignantly and bids him take a ring to her lover; the valet keeps for himself both this ring and the chain the lover has given him for his mistress. Instead, however, of the amusing scene in which the lovers discover the valet's knavery, one finds here the sack trick. Tabarin puts Rodomont into the sack with the promise of enabling him in this way to see Isabelle, but Lucas returns and finds him there, whereupon Rodomont explains that he is shut up because of his refusal to marry a wealthy, but hideous old woman. Lucas is willing to take his place in order to get the fortune, but, when he does so, he receives from Tabarin and Isabelle, who has been told that the person in the sack is a robber, blows intended for others. "Lucas est battu et recogneu. Tabarin est bien estonné, Isabelle encore plus. Le Capitaine arrive, qui termine le différend, et puis on tire le rideau : la farce est jouée." Rodomont differs from Horace, not so much because he is a braggart, for Horace refers to himself as the "valeur et la fleur de l'armée," but in his speech, which is a mixture of Italian, Spanish, Provençal, and French. The two plays must come from the same original¹. One was written for the Pont-Neuf; the other, probably the more recent, for the Hôtel de Bourgogne. While both are farces, the latter form shows less exaggeration than the one that is attributed to Tabarin.

Closely associated with Tabarin's plays is the *Farce des Bossus*², acted by his rival, Descombes. It differs from the *farces tabariniques* in the kind of names used and the kind of trick played. Toldo³ and M. Bédier⁴ point out its relation to a fabliau. Trostole, a

(1) Many of the jests and phrases are the same. In both, for instance, the father declares that his daughter's honor is "desia fendu", the valet asks if one embarks at Montmartre to go to the Indies, and the father bids him close "la porte de la casemate virginalle." Some of the conversations are almost exactly the same.

(2) Published with other works of the so-called Baron de Grattelard in 1623 and reprinted by Aventin, *op. cit.*, II, 193-200, and Frichet, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-129.

(3) *Op. cit.*, VI, 605.

(4) *Les Fabliaux*, Paris, Champion, 1925, pp. 236-250. He takes up the various ramifications of the tale in Asia and Europe, shows that it is connected with the fabliau of the three "bossus ménestrels," and leaves us in doubt as to whether it

wealthy and miserly *bossu*, goes to see his creditors at the law-court and bids his wife refuse admission to his three hump-backed brothers if they ask to be let in. As soon as he has gone, they enter, very hungry, and are admitted into the house. Their sister-in-law hides them when her husband returns. When he leaves again, she decides to get rid of them and pays Grattelard, who has come with a love-letter from his master, Horace, to throw them into the river. She pays for only one, but after his removal declares that he has returned and thus gets Grattelard to take the second without charge. And so with the third. But the scheme works too well and, when Trostole comes home, Grattelard believes that he, too, is this constantly returning brother and throws him into the river as he had thrown the others. When he learns the truth, he advises the heroine to take advantage of her widowhood and marry Horace, but the four *bossus* return just here and all fall to fighting ¹.

VII. — Personal and Political Plays

The first of these is *IRIS* ², a pastoral by H. D. Coignée de Bourron, written in honor of the king and queen. The author dedicated it to M^{me} de la Beccherelle, "gouvernante des filles de la Royné," reminding her that it was born in her house in the country. It has a conventional pastoral plot, one of the episodes of which shows the loyalty of Normandy to the reigning sovereigns. The play was probably composed on the occasion of Louis XIII's visit to that province in the summer of 1620, made with the purpose of pacifying it when peace was threatened by his mother's adherents. The plot ³ possesses little originality. The giving of presents by a

is directly descended from it, as Toldo supposed it to be. In his analysis on p. 243 Bédier declares that the woman marries Horace, but in the texts I have read I find that this is merely the proposal of the valet. The husband returns before the plan is carried out.

(1) Other farces were printed during this period, but they belong to the literature of earlier centuries. Such are the farces of the *Recueil de Copenhague* and the farce of *la Mère, Jouart, le compère, et l'escolier*, Troyes, Nicolas Oudot, 1624. Cf. Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire du théâtre comique en France*, Paris, Cerf, 1886, pp. 7, 8, 173, and Picot et Nyrop, *Nouveau Recueil de farces françaises*, Paris, Morgand et Fatout, 1880. The *Querelle de Gaultier Garguille et de Perrine sa femme* (*Bib. du th. fr.*, I, 468) is not a play, but a dialogue, interrupted by narrative, identical, except for the names, with the dialogue reprinted by Aventin, *op. cit.*, II, 401-408.

(2) Rouen, David du Petit-Val, 1620, 12°.

(3) *Iris*, a shepherdess, flirts with Aminte and Clarin, giving to the former a ring, to the latter a crook that his rival had given her, and assuring each that she had not meant what she said to the other. Confronted, like Célimène, with evidence of her duplicity, she declares that she loves neither suitor, but Juno intervenes, forces her to accept Clarin, and bids Aminte rid himself of the love of *Iris* by bathing in a

shepherdess to two shepherds who are in love with her is found in the *Astrée*, the use of water to enable a lover to conquer love is in the *Diana* of Montemayor. The intervention of the gods is very frequent in pastoral plays. Indeed all of these motifs are so often employed that it is difficult to be sure what was the immediate source. Nor is the introduction of political allegory much more original. Francyn and Anne, of course, represent the king and queen. Normandy is represented by its two most important streams, the Seine or Sequanie and the Orne or Olonie, the Latin names of which are the Sequana and the Olina. The identification of the latter river is confirmed by reference to its "aimables ruisseaux torts."

The most important thing about the play is its form. The meter chiefly employed is the verse of ten syllables, but there are also verses of seven and of eight syllables in a song, in dialogues, and in a monologue of 36 lines (Act II), which constitutes an early example of what was subsequently known as *stances*. The verse is relatively correct, though hiatus occurs in the fifth act, but the vocabulary includes antiquated words. Note, for instance, in the conventional opening lines, the retention of sixteenth century diminutives :

Allez broûter, petites brebiêtes,
Le vert tapy de ces tendres herbettes,

and, in the third act, the words *avette* and *suçottant*. This does not prevent the poet from writing lines of considerable charm in the song that begins (Act III) :

Quand pour ma bergerette
Je sonne mon flâisol ¹,
J'entends la voix doucette
Du gentil Rossignol,
Qui me dit doucement,
Que j'aime constamment.

The mild temper of this play contrasts with that of LA TRAGÉDIE DES REBELLES "ou sont ² les noms feints, on void leurs conspirations, machines, monopoles, assembles, pratiques et rebellions descouvertes ³." It is a violent Catholic pamphlet in dramatic form,

spring "du costé du mijour" and then return the love of the shepherdess, Philinde. Two river nymphs, Olonie and Sequanie, sing the praises of Francyn, prince of the shepherds. They hope that to him and his shepherdess may be born a "petit berger Dauphin" and are assured by Juno that he loves them both. Cupid expresses his devotion to Anne.

(1) Flageolet. The word seems to come from a crossing of *flajol* and *faisole* (bean). An example of the latter is cited by Godefroy from a fifteenth century manuscript.

(2) Sous.

(3) Paris, veuve Ducarroy, 1622, 12° Bib. Nat., yf 4733.

intended to hold up to ridicule the leaders of the Protestant movement. It is dedicated to the queen. The author signs himself "P. D. B. Parisien," which Paul Lacroix interprets as designating "sans doute Pierre de Brinon¹," but he overlooks the fact that Brinon, to whom we have seen other plays ascribed on insufficient evidence, was not a Parisian. The author apologizes for the "rudesse et sterilité" of his language and declares that he was inspired by his affection for the king and desire to see him return to Paris in triumph, which indicates that the play was written after Louis left Paris on March 21, 1622, and before the Peace of Montpellier, signed Oct. 18, 1622. In the *Argument* it is stated that "toute Tragedie est sanglante et ne se finit iamais que par vne Catastrophe de malheurs, qui s'esclattent en fin au desaduantage de ceux qui en sont les premiers autheurs." It is written in verses of ten syllables, a rare form for a tragedy, and is only 23 pages in length. Under pastoral names, Meris, Tirsis, Palemon, Doris, and Cloris, are represented Soubise, Favas, La Motte, France, and Paris. The celebrated Protestant divine, Du Moulin, appears as a magician associated with a devil and a Fury, who typifies rebellion. Rohan, La Force, and citizens of La Rochelle and Montauban are also represented². While the author has evidently read a few pastorals and tragedies, he knows practically nothing of dramatic composition, nor can he divest himself of his religious prejudices sufficiently to portray character. It is improbable that the play was ever acted except as a sort of pageant³.

Denis Coppée, whom we have studied as the author of *Saint Lambert*, contributed to the group under discussion the *SANGLANTE BATAILLE D'ENTRE LES IMPÉRIAUX ET BOHÈMES, DONNÉE AU PARC DE L'ESTOILLE, LA REDDITION DE PRAGUE ET ENSEMBLE L'ORIGINE DU TROUBLE DE BOHÈME*⁴. Most of the events mentioned here had

(1) *Soleinne*, no. 1014.

(2) La Motte reports to Soubise and Favas that he has lost more than 2000 men and they decide to retreat from the Ile de Riez in Vendée. The triumphal entry of the king into Paris the year before is next described. A devil decides to destroy La Rochelle. Du Moulin calls up various devils, but only to learn that La Rochelle is to be destroyed for closing its gates to the king. Rohan laments his rebellious past, tells of the disasters that have befallen him in the last two years, and resolves to retire to Castres. The play ends with a prayer of France and Paris for the happy return of the king to the Louvre.

(3) For further details cf. the *Bib. du th. fr.*, I, 540-542. Here might be placed the *Réveil de Bontemps*, played at Dijon "en pleine rue" in 1623, except that, as it written largely in dialect, it hardly comes within the scope of this work. It is one of a series of compositions, distinctly popular in nature and resembling pageants, that describe local Burgundian conditions; cf. the *Théâtre de l'Infanterie dijonnaise*, edited by Durandeau, Dijon, Librairie nouvelle, 1883.

(4) Liège, Leonard Streel, 1624, 8°; *priv.*, Sept. 18; dedication dated Sept. 10.

taken place from four to six years before. Maximilian of Bavaria, to whom the play is dedicated, and certain of his Belgian followers had been closely connected with them. Coppée is chiefly interested in praising their achievements and justifying their cause. He is as much a Catholic as the author of the *Tragédie des Rebelles*, but he has a better understanding of human nature, for he makes the Protestants praise the martial valor of men of their religion. He expresses the hope that this fact will not shock his audience and explains that an author must be impartial in drawing character. This is the more to his credit as he shows in his dedication that his sympathies were altogether with the Catholics and that he felt that the Bohemians had no right to elect their king. According to him, the Duke of Bavaria, though naturally peace-loving, was obliged to take up arms in order to save Christianity. He also tries to be impartial in honoring distinguished persons by introducing them into his play. His list of 25 "entrepailleurs" is followed by a quatrain in which he apologizes to any nobles or generals he may have omitted and adds

Si ie vous cognoissois ie voudrois de bon cœur
A chanter vôte los employer plus d'un âge.

The subject of the play is the chief early event of the Thirty Years War, the Battle of the White Mountain and the capture of Prague. This takes up the last half of the play. In preparation for it we are first shown von Thurn, or de La Tour as he is called, discussing with other Protestant leaders their grievances and their plans for freedom, then the famous incident of their throwing Catholic officials out of the window, and, on the other hand, we hear from the emperor an exposition of the Catholic point of view. The third act opens with a scene between the Count Palatine, his wife, and their young son on the eve of the battle, suggested, perhaps, by Hector's leaving Andromache, to which reference is made in the play. On the Catholic side Buquoy and Père Dominique encourage their soldiers, the Duke of Bavaria and Tilly are seen in conference, after which the battle takes place, cannon are fired, men fall. The victory is won by the Catholics. The Count Palatine and his wife fly to Silesia in spite of the nurse's fears :

Ie doute que son fruit ne se portera mal,
S'il luy faut en ce point galoper à cheual.

The last act describes the surrender of the city and a little fighting in which the author's fellow-countrymen distinguish themselves.

Too many characters, too many events, and too much propaganda. Coppée writes too soon after the incidents described to take a dispassionate view of them and he finds it necessary to dwell upon many arguments that now seem quite superfluous. A certain historical interest attaches, however, to this very effort at influencing opinion and there are a number of quaint passages in the play. There is a curious reference to Guy Fawkes (Act I) :

Le scauant Roy Anglois de la sienne ¹ le chef
Que Dieu, aimé de luy, a gardé de meschef,
Quand quelques enuieux s'étoient osé resoudre
De luy appareiller sous terre vn mortel foudre ;

another to the Order of the Garter (Act V),

Ordre mis en auant par vn Roy en dansant
D'une Comtesse alla la iartiere haussant
En disant : Honny soit celui qui mal y pense,
Monstrant à ses subiets d'icelle l'innocence.

There is a chorus at the end of each of the five acts, attacking heresy and sacrilege, defending Catholic doctrine and politics. An interesting conceit, which must have been lost on the audience, is found in the fact that the initial letters of Père Dominique's prayer spell " Marie prie pour nous ". A plea for peace from the point of view of the common soldier is expressed in the lines (Act V) :

Quel plaisir y a t'il pour des pauvres soudars,
Dont la vie en tout temps risque mille hasards ?
S'ils font bien : cest honneur reuient aux Capitaines,
Reuient aux Generaux triomphans par leurs peines.

After many lines of a long *récit* in the last act, the speaker feels remorse and apologizes :

Mais ie suis trop prolix, et fâche vos oreilles.

Stage-directions are not lacking, for we find " ils entrent en leur chambre " (I), " icy l'ennemy attaque Buquoy " (III), " rentrent les Impériaux... canon tire " (IV).

The last play of the group was written by Pierre Mainfray, whose other contributions to the stage have already been studied. It is the CHASSE ROYALLE, " Comedie où l'on voit le contentement et

(1) His church.

l'exercice de la Chasse des Cerfs, des sangliers et des Ours. Ensemble la subtilité dont vsa vne Chasserresse vers vn Satyre qui la poursuiuoit d'Amours¹. " Like *Iris* it is a play with a pastoral setting, written in praise of Louis XIII. It celebrates particularly his well-known love of hunting, which furnishes the main episode, a hunt in which the king participates. This necessitates the introduction of a forest, the presence of which suggested that, to fill out the drama, pastoral incidents might be added. The result is a play in four acts in which Diana and her nymphs, Hespérie and Gallique, drive up the game for Cherilys (Louis XIII), two friends, and two hunters. They discuss hunting and dash off as the king orders "Trompez, trompez chasseurs" and a hunter replies "Fan, fan, fan, fan." When we see them next, they have killed a stag and a boar, Diana makes Louis lord of the forest, and he is hailed as "le Iuste,"

Et le vif reietton du Roy Henry l'Auguste (III, 2).

At the end of the play, Cherilys declares that, as the sun is now setting, they must retire to Paris, whither they go, preparing to hunt next day the bear that had escaped them. This simple theme, based, despite its allegorical nature, on contemporary life, contrasts with the conventional scenes that are added. Hespérie, caught in the wood by a satyr, escapes by inducing him to wash himself in a well, where she leaves him (III, 1):

Thuleman : Tenez bien le cordage.
Hespérie : Estes vous dedans l'eau monstre remply de rage,
Beuvez donc tout le saoul...

This incident is taken from *les Amantes* of Chrétien des Croix (IV, 2), where Filine, similarly attacked, helps a satyr descend into a well and then leaves him, saying, "Boy tout ton saoul."

A friend of the satyr who practises magic and a hermit are also introduced, apparently for the sake of a debate as to the value of black art, which has for its edifying conclusion the admission of the magician that "ce bon Pere" has converted him and his promise to burn his books of magic and wax images and to go with the satyr to the hermit's cave, where they are to be instructed in Christian living. The introduction of Christianity may be due to the influence of the *Bergeries*. As in the latter play, too, the events of the *Chasse royale* take place within twenty-four hours and require only the

(1) Troyes, Nicolas Oudot, 1625, 8°. There is a copy at the Arsenal, B. L. 10619.

space of a forest, while the unity of action is not kept. Indeed there is hardly any action at all. The vocabulary and versification are free from Malherbe's influence, for Mainfray belongs rather to the school of Hardy. The following lines show the two authors' similarity of taste :

Chasse royale, I, 2 : L'aduocat au barreau monstre s'il est disert,
Le Nocher sur la mer monstre s'il est expert,
Et le braue soldat au milieu de la presse
Aux despens de son sang tesmoigne sa prouesse.

Hardy, *Ariadne*, III : Le soldat ne sçauroit parler que de la guerre,
Le pasteur des troupeaux, le rustre de la terre,
Des vents le marinier, et les amans touiours,
De voix, où de penser parlent de leurs amours ¹.

Louis is said to have brought the Golden Age to France and to have promoted the interests of the Church. He is pious and just, believes in the value of athletics and especially in hunting, which smothers vice. He hunts various kinds of birds, some of them over the water in order that they may be easily picked up. There is a curious description of a decoration on a bow and quiver given to Diana by Apollo which represents, not only mythological scenes, but a royal entertainment with fireworks (I, 1) :

...vn Bal de flambeaux et vn graue Chasteau
Ou malgré le Salpestre et les flammes cruelles
L'on voyoit sans brusler plusieurs AA et des LL ².

The play is at the same time allegorical, mythological, and realistic, a strange medley, typical of much that was written at the time, when most of the elements that were to make up the drama of C. rneille's generation were already present, but before authors had learned to develop and combine them.

(1) Cf. also the chorus at the end of Montchrestien, *Hector*, Act I.

(2) Fireworks also inspired Pierre Du Ryer. Cf. his poem " Sur vn feu d'artifice bruslé deuant le Louure ", published with his *Argénis et Poliarque*, Paris, Nicolas Bessin, 1631, p. 116.

CHAPTER V

JEAN MAIRET AND OTHER DRAMATISTS (1625-1627)

I. — General Characteristics

The reforms instituted by Racan and Théophile might have remained isolated phenomena had it not been for a young man from Besançon, freshly arrived at Paris and ready to absorb what was best in these dramatists, improve it technically, and compose enough plays to excite the emulation of his own generation and finally establish the classical system. His beginnings constitute so much the most important part of the dramatic history of these three years that I devote to him a special division of the chapter. Other plays than his will be discussed under the heads of tragedy, pastoral, and comedy. But this does not tell the whole story, for three volumes of Hardy's plays appeared at this time and must have helped keep up the vogue of the pastoral and win for tragi-comedy the popularity it was to have in the following period. The latter genre had not yet, however, come into its own, for no tragi-comedies were written in 1625-1627 except by Hardy and Mairet. Nor was the situation very different for tragedy, which had been a very important genre in the preceding period. With the possible exception of *Lucrèce* and *Alcméon*, it is probable that the tragedies published by Hardy at this time or in 1628 were written before 1625. The only tragedies that belong here are, then, the anonymous *Pasiphaé* and those written by an obscure provincial, Borée, in an antiquated style that resembles that of Hardy.

The most popular genre was the pastoral, which received literary distinction from d'Urfé's *Sylvanire* and Bazire's *Princesse* and attracted almost everyone who was writing, Hardy, Mairet, Troterel, as well as a number of minor authors. Certain elements of the pastoral are found in the *Supercherie d'Amour*, a play that in other respects resembles the farcical type of comedy we have found in the last two chapters. This play, Troterel's pastorals, and *Carite* make

a distinct contribution to the development of comedy, while the elements that the pastoral has in common with the tragi-comedy make popular the term, *tragi-comédie pastorale*. But these are really signs of weakness in the genre, which, though remaining popular for several years longer, will then practically disappear and be replaced by comedy and tragi-comedy.

With the possible exception of *Endymion*, which keeps little of the myth, it is only in tragedies that we find plots taken from ancient history or mythology and in only three of these, for the two others are based upon comparatively modern events. The most important plays are inspired by other modern plays or by modern novels. Here should be noted particularly the influence of the *Astrée*, the *Bergeries*, and of *Pyrame*, to a lesser extent that of Garnier and Hardy. This means that a generation has grown up that looks primarily to the literature of its own country for inspiration.

The dramatists' patrons are nearly all of very high rank; they include the Queen of France, several princes of Savoy, the duchesse d'Orléans, and the duc de Montmorency, one of the great patrons of the day. The plays are printed exclusively at Paris, Rouen, and Lyons. That Paris has greater prestige than Rouen, but not necessarily as accurate publishers is shown by Hardy in the *Au Lecteur* to his fourth volume:

Car iagoit que Paris excelle en nombre d'Imprimeurs, qui ne le cedent à aucuns de l'Europe; cela n'empesche que beaucoup de passeuolants ne se rencontrent parmy leurs vieilles bandes: Et de ma part j'aime mieux que mon liure sans autre circonspection, soit bien imprimé à Rouën, que mal à Paris.

Mairet, on the other hand, confided his work to a Parisian, Targa, and, in 1630, denounced a Rouen publisher named Jacques Besogne, who had printed his first play without his consent¹.

Though all the plays but one are divided into five acts and all but two are subdivided into scenes, while the chorus is eliminated except in two plays, the form is in some respects less fixed than ever. The *Supercherie d'Amour* is written in prose, d'Urfé's *Sylvanire* in blank verse of varied meter, and the pastorals are for the most part in verses of ten syllables rather than in alexandrines. M. Marsan holds² that the drift away from the alexandrine was caused by a desire to imitate Hardy's pastorals and that the publication of Mairet's *Sylvie* brought this meter back into favor. This explanation seems reasonable enough. At any rate five pastorals of the

(1) Cf. Marsan's edition of *Sylvie*, p. 8.

(2) *La Pastorale dramatique*, p. 320.

period are written in ten-syllable verse, while only one is in alexandrines besides *Sylvie*. Other variations from the ordinary usage occur. The famous dialogue of the latter play may be noted in this connection on account of its rime scheme (*abab* instead of *aabb*). Six-syllable verses are introduced into Borée's *Tomyre*, II, 5. In *Carite* Cupid delivers his decrees in stanzaic form. More important is the use of *stances* by Bazire d'Amblainville, who deliberately changed into this form a ten-syllable monologue of his *Berger inconnu* when he rewrote it as the *Princesse* (III, 3).

Gods and goddesses are occasionally referred to, but only Cupid, Hymen, and Diana appear on the stage, while a divine voice is heard at the end of *Sylvie*. The proprieties are not usually observed, but Mairet, imitating *Pyrame* and the *Bergeries*, violates them only in one or two lines of his *Sylvie*; in his *Chryseïde* not at all. Borée and Troterel, however, like Hardy, continue to allow physical violence on the stage, while the language of most of the plays and especially of the *Supercherie d'Amour* is often indecent. There is a very considerable comic element in the latter play and a good deal that is amusing in most of the pastorals, but in Mairet's plays, in Borée's, and in *Pasiphaé* there is extremely little that is comic. No effort is made to observe the unities. The psychological struggle is largely absent, but there is one in *Sylvanire* and there are two important passages in *Chryseïde* in which Mairet develops suggestions for a struggle that he found in his source. Classical ghosts, messengers, and nurses are seldom found. Children appear in only two plays, though mothers take part in six. In the better productions attention is paid to preparation and suspense, and Mairet shows a decided desire to make of the fifth the most spectacular act. In short the period, along with much that we have seen before and certain novelties that were not destined to find imitators, possesses some characteristics that were of considerable importance in the development of French dramatic literature.

When the period opens, we find the Comédiens du Roi established at the Hôtel de Bourgogne ¹, but their lease expired in March, the theater was rented the following month to a Spanish troupe ², and on Aug. 3, 1625, to that of the Prince of Orange ³. The Comédiens du Roi, obliged to find other quarters, were evidently dissatisfied with this arrangement, for, on Aug. 14, they had to be directed by the police not to disturb their rivals or play near the Aôtel de

(1) Fransen, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 65.

(3) Soulié, *op. cit.*, pp. 158, 159.

Bourgogne. They were allowed, however, to give performances "au quarreau de la rue Saint-Anthoine¹". It is probable that they returned to the Hôtel after the departure of the other troupe, but they must have left it again in the summer of 1626, for the troupe of the Prince d'Orange rented it for two months in July of that year and the Comédiens du Roi were at Nevers in August². It was probably in September that they played at Chantilly³, for, though they were paid for their thirteen-day sojourn there only on October 29, they had, on Aug. 29, leased the Hôtel for October and November⁴. For their acting at Chantilly they received 2274 livres. One wonders whether they played just before or just after the death of Théophile, whose last days were spent at Chantilly, and whether they profited by the presence of Mairet, who was living there, to give his *Sylvie*. On Dec. 11, they again leased the Hôtel⁵. The following July they were directed not to play at unsuitable hours⁶. From Sept. 5 to Oct. 5, 1627, the theater was rented by the troupe of the Prince of Orange⁷, but the Comédiens du Roi returned at the end of the year⁸. We also hear of the unsuccessful efforts of a so-called Greek troupe of apparently French players to give performances at Paris in 1627⁹. Reference has already been made to the performance of *Pyrame* before the court. In England Queen Henrietta Maria acted in a French pastoral on Shrove Tuesday, 1626¹⁰. The queen's acting was considered remarkable, but objection was made to her declaiming the first part of her rôle. M. Lanson¹¹ notes performances of various plays by school-boys at Dinant, La Flèche, Montbéliard, Rheims, and Antwerp. Some of these are sixteenth century plays, the *Sacrifice d'Abraham* and *David combattant*, others are in Latin. The only ones that would concern us, were they preserved, are the *Histoire de Saint Maurice* and the *Tragédie de Saint Norbert*.

In the light of all this evidence of dramatic activity, there is little reason to doubt that all the plays that have survived were acted, with the possible exception of d'Urfé's *Sylvanire*. Mairet's two

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 159.

(2) Fransen, *op. cit.*, pp. 61, 65, 66.

(3) Cf. Magne, *Gautier-Garguille*, Paris, Louis-Michaud, p. 50.

(4) Fransen, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

(5) *Ibid.* Fransen mentions the lease, but does not state how long it was to run.

(6) Soulié, *loc. cit.*

(7) Fransen, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

(8) *Ibid.*, p. 62.

(9) Soulié, *loc. cit.*

(10) Cf. *Calendar of State Papers (Venetian)* for 1625-1626, pp. 179, 193, 345, 346.

(11) *Op. cit.*, X, 231.

plays formed part of the repertory of the Hôtel de Bourgogne as late as 1634 ; of the rival troupe as late as 1632. Lines in the *Supercherie d'Amour* show that it was written for the Hôtel. The stage-directions of *Carline* and of plays by Borée and Troterel show that they were composed with performance in mind. *Sylvanire* alone, from its great length and the emphasis placed upon its form, may be supposed to have been written to be read rather than to be played.

II. — Jean Mairet

It is unfortunate that Mairet's fame should be dimmed by the part he took in the *Cid* controversy, for this has made his memory survive chiefly as that of Corneille's envious and defeated rival. The knowledge that such a fate awaited him would have surprised him greatly in 1634, for he was then the leading French dramatist both in the number of well-known plays he had written and in the fact that he had led the way among writers of his generation both in style and in dramatic technique. In style he had imitated Racan and Théophile, but each of them had written but one play that was known, while he had composed six. He had formulated, also, the new technique and written the first play in which the three unities were intentionally observed and the first purely classical tragedy. He was justified, then, in considering himself a man of importance and those who are concerned with literary history must agree with him. I shall consequently devote not a little space to his life, knowledge of which is essential to the understanding not only of his plays, but those of his contemporaries.

His mother came from Troyes ; his father was half French and half German ¹. Despite his efforts to prove that he was of noble birth, he undoubtedly belonged to the *bourgeoisie* when he was writing his plays. He was baptized at Besançon, May 10, 1604, and was probably born there a few days before. Although early left an orphan under the supervision of an unfriendly stepmother,

(1) For the life of Mairet cf. Armand Gasté, *la Querelle du Cid*, Paris, Welter, 1899 ; Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres de Chapelain*, Paris, 1880 ; the frères Parfaict, IV, 337-344 ; Goujet, XVIII ; a MS. biography by Rochet de Frasne in the records of the Academy of Besançon, to be found in the library of that town ; G. Bizos, *Etude sur la vie et les œuvres de Jean de Mairet*, Paris, Thorin, 1877 ; Tivier, *Revue historique*, XXV (1884), 43-67 ; E. Dannheisser, *Studien zu Jean de Mairet's Leben u. Wirken*, Ludwigshafen, 1888, and "Zur Chronologie der Dramen Jean de Mairet's", *R. F.*, V, 37-64 ; Marsan's edition of *Sylvie*, Paris, Société nouvelle de librairie et d'édition, 1905 ; and my edition of *Chryséide et Arimand*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1925.

he must have received a good education and culture enough to make him acceptable to the aristocratic friends he soon acquired. Partly because of the plague and partly in imitation of Antoine Brun, he came to Paris, studied at the Collège des Grassins, and wrote his *Chryseïde*, which he sold to a troupe of actors. Then he met the duc de Montmorency and joined his expedition against Soubise, who was holding for the Huguenots the Islands of Ré and Oléron. He took part in the naval battle won by the duke and afterwards accompanied him to Chantilly, where, according to Ménage¹, he became his secretary. At Chantilly he was intimately acquainted with Théophile, who left his unpublished works in his keeping when he died. It was there that he wrote *Sylvie* and a number of lyrics. It was probably through the associations that he formed there that he met the comte de Cramail and the cardinal de la Vallette, who interested him in Italian technique and were the cause of his introducing the three unities. After the execution of Montmorency in 1632, he was received at Le Mans by the comte de Belin, who was also a protector of Rotrou and who got Mairet to write plays for Montdory's troupe in order to give the leading woman's rôle to an actress in whom he was interested. Mairet was also favored by Richelieu, M^{lle} de Hautefort, and Chapelain. It is unnecessary to recall the violent attack he made upon Corneille after the *Cid* had appeared. In 1640 he gave up writing for the stage and became in 1645 the agent at Paris of his native province, Franche-Comté, which had not yet been joined to the French crown. The queen rewarded him for his diplomatic services, but Mazarin forced him to leave Paris. He died in 1686.

The dates of his plays are important, as they concern not only the introduction of the unities, but the dating of Racan's *Bergeries*, Théophile's *Pyrame*, and Corneille's *Mélite*. Indeed many mistakes have been made in regard to this general period on account of ignorance of Mairet's dates, although they were established by Dannheisser years ago. The chief facts are these. When Beauchamps attempted to determine the dates of composition of Mairet's plays, he made use of the statement made by the latter in the *Épître dédicatoire* of his *Duc d'Ossonne* (Jan. 4, 1636) to the effect that he had begun to write so early that

A ma vingt sixiesme année ie me trouue aujourd'huy le plus ancien de tous nos Poëtes dramatiques. Je composay ma Chriseide à seize ans, au sortir de Philosophie, et c'est de celle-là et de Siluie qui la suiuit vn an après que ie dirois volontiers à tout

(1) Baillet, *Jugemens des Savans*, Amsterdam, 1725, VII, 115.

le monde : *Delicta iuventutis meæ ne reminiscere* ¹. Je fis la Silvanire à 21. Le Duc d'Ossonne à 23. Virginie à 24. Sophonisbe à 25. Marc-Anthoine et Soliman à 26... l'heureuse semence de beaucoup d'autres meilleurs, produits par les fécondes plumes de Messieurs de Rotrou, de Scudéry, Corneille et du Ryer que ie nomme icy suiuant l'ordre du temps qu'ils ont commencé d'escrire ² après moy.

From this evidence Beauchamps concluded that Mairet was born in 1610, wrote *Chryséide* in 1626, *Sylvie* in 1627, *Silvanire* in 1631, etc., but the frères Parfaict, learning from a family memoir that Mairet was born in 1604, changed the dates accordingly, putting *Chryséide* in 1620, *Sylvie* in 1621, *Silvanire* in 1625, etc. Not only so, but since Mairet had referred to the fact that he began to write some time after *Pyrame* and the *Bergeries*, they assigned to these plays the dates 1617 and 1618, respectively. But while these dates were generally accepted for over a century and are still to-day by persons who have not examined the evidence, the fact that these dates are impossible finally became evident to certain scholars. They saw, for instance, that *Sylvie* could not date from 1621, since Mairet tells us he wrote it when living with Montmorency and declares in 1630 that he had been a member of the duke's household for five years. They also saw that *Silvanire* could not date from 1625, because Mairet tells us that it is based on d'Urfé's play of the same name and an episode from the fourth part of the *Astrée*, neither of which was published until 1627. Moreover, why should Mairet wait such a long time before publishing each of his plays ³? Gaspary proposed ⁴ to assume that the frères Parfaict confused the birth-date with some other and to return practically to the dates given by Beauchamps. Fortunately Tivier, not long afterwards, published Mairet's baptismal record ⁵ and Dannheisser made use of it to solve the problem, holding that, while Mairet had undoubtedly lied about his age through a desire to prove, not his priority, which was undoubted, but his youth, he must have told the truth about the number of years that had elapsed since the composition of each of his plays. As M. Marsan, who accepts Dannheisser's argument in this matter, puts it, Mairet " ne nous trompe, il ne peut nous tromper, il n'a inté-

(1) Doubtless because neither observed the rules of unity he introduced after he had written them.

(2) We shall see that Mairet is probably correct in this statement except so far as Du Ryer is concerned, who certainly wrote his first play before either Scudéry or Corneille had written theirs and probably before Rotrou brought out his *Hypocodriague*.

(3) For other evidence cf. Dannheisser, *op. cit.*

(4) *Z. R. Ph.*, V, 70-72.

(5) It is now in the public library of Besançon, where I have examined it.

rêt à nous tromper que sur son âge" ¹. We may then use his evidence to date his plays, though not to determine his age.

Now he says that he was in his twenty-sixth year and that he wrote *Marc-Antoine* and *Soliman* "à 26". Evidently the two ways of stating age amount for him to the same thing and the two plays were written in 1635, since his statement is of Jan. 4, 1636. *Sophonisbe*, written when he was a year younger, would then date from 1634 and we know from the *Gazette* that it was played as early as December of that year. In the same way we must place *Virginie* in 1633, *Ossonne* in 1632, *Silvanire* in 1630, *Sylvie* in 1626, *Chryséide* in 1625. These dates are confirmed by evidence collected by Dannheisser, who was mistaken with regard to the date of Mairet's entering Montmorency's service, but not in dating his plays. A document in the *Cid* quarrel ² tells us that Mairet turned over *Chryséide* to the actors before he became the duke's follower and he was certainly in his service by the summer of 1625 ³. Everything points, then, to his having written *Chryséide* in the first half of that year and there is no reason to doubt that *Sylvie* followed it, as the author states, a year later, that is, in 1626.

CHRYSEÏDE was probably written at Paris, for it would have been hard for Mairet to procure at Besançon copies of the plays he imitates. A young provincial, strictly speaking a foreigner, for Franche-Comté did not yet form part of France, arrives at the capital, becomes enthusiastic over the leading productions in novel and drama, the *Astrée*, of which Part III had first appeared in 1619, Théophile's *Pyrame*, first published in 1623, and Racan's *Bergeries*, which came out in printed form in Jan., 1625. Théophile's fame as a poet and his misfortunes must have attracted Mairet, who conceived the idea of treating an episode in the *Astrée* in somewhat the same manner as Ovid's theme had been developed in *Pyrame*. He was thus the

(1) *Op. cit.*, p. ix.

(2) Cf. Gasté, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

(3) In the dedication of *Sylvie* Mairet states that he had been in the duke's service for two years. In 1630 this was changed to five years. Dannheisser consulted the later edition and, assuming that it was the same as the other, concluded that his service began in 1623. Marsan pointed out his error and reconciled Mairet's statements by suggesting that the dedication of the first edition was written not long after the *privilege* of Sept. 17, 1627. If this is the case then Mairet would have entered the duke's service in 1625, which must be correct. Dannheisser is also wrong when he argues that the verse,

Courant de ce climat à celui de Sylvie,

which occurs in Mairet's *Autres Œuvres*, Paris, Targa, 1631, means that he hastened from Besançon to Chantilly, for, as I have shown in my edition of *Chryséide*, p. 12, the line is the first in a poem that is preceded by one entitled *Neptune à la Rochelle* and it is obvious that he refers to leaving the region of La Rochelle for Chantilly, which he did at the end of the campaign of 1625.

second playwright to turn to the *Astrée* for a source, while, like Théophile, he emphasized the emotions of his characters. But he saw that he must have a more substantial plot than Théophile and one that was not so loose and rambling as d'Urfé. He omitted accordingly the first half of the story as told in the *Astrée*, Part III, Book VII, restricted the region in which the scene is laid to Vienne, Lyons, and probably the Cévennes, and limited himself to the love of Chryséide and Arimand in conflict with the avarice of a military leader and the rivalry of the king. The events utilized come from Book VIII ¹.

Mairet treats his source with great freedom, putting into dialogue d'Urfé's sober narrative and enlivening it in many ways. He owes much to Théophile, especially in the first two acts, for here, as in *Pyrame*, the lover has for rival a king who consults a confidant and seeks to have the hero killed. The monologues of I, 2 and II, 1 are largely derived from that tragedy. The attitude of the heroine towards her female guards and that of the king when he tries to force his cautious counsellor to express his admiration for Chryséide are directly inspired by *Pyrame*, as are many lines scattered through the play ². The *Astrée* and *Pyrame* are the chief sources, but a few lines seem to have been written under the influence of Racan, Hardy, Malherbe, Guarini, and even the obscure Galaut ³.

The play is, of course, a tragi-comedy and has many characteristics of that genre, exciting situations, especially in the last act, persons

(1) When the action begins, Arimand, just recovered from wounds received in battle, is held in prison for ransom, while Chryséide is detained by the young king of the Burgundians, Gondebaud, who hopes to win her affections. Both are rescued by Arimand's faithful servant, Bellaris, who arranges the flight of Chryséide and her attendant by boat, then takes Arimand's place in prison and persuades him to make his escape by exchanging clothes with him. The lovers meet at Gergovie, where Bellaris succeeds in joining them, but their fortune soon changes, for soldiers sent after Arimand are scouring the country, so that the men are obliged to take a different route from the women. They arrange to meet at Vienne, but the women are captured by the king, who discovers them while hunting. He seeks to win the heroine's heart by making sacrifice to the god Teutatès at the Lovers' Tomb, but she takes sanctuary at this tomb and, to make matters doubly sure, threatens to kill herself with the sacrificial knife, if the king uses violence. At this point Arimand arrives, declares that he arranged Chryséide's escape, and asks that, since the king has promised to grant any request of the man who would tell him who was responsible for her escape, he be granted this one favor, the freedom of the girl. To this the king is obliged to agree, but he intends to avenge himself by putting Arimand to death. Bellaris, however, now declares that he was the real rescuer of Chryséide and asks as his reward for this information the freedom of Arimand. The king is at first angry, but is finally so much moved by this display of devotion and self-sacrifice on the part of all three that he relents, frees them, and bids the lovers marry and be happy.

(2) Cf. the introduction and notes of my edition of *Chryséide*.

(3) Cf., *ibid.*, the note on lines 1631, 1632, which are almost identical with a couplet from Galaut's *Phalante*, I, 3.

from various classes, a mingling of tones, a happy ending. There are lyric passages inspired by love or nature ¹, elegiac monologues ², an epic description of the capture of a town ³, an occasional comic observation, chiefly on the part of two innkeepers, rôles that may have been played by a single actor ⁴. The setting, partly in the woods, partly in a park, and the sacrifice of the last act remind us of the pastoral. The leading characters are distinctly active. The most interesting is, perhaps, Gondebaut, here a young man, though in the source he is represented as a grandfather. He has an overbearing and passionate nature, but also certain humane qualities that make possible a struggle in his soul. When there is sufficient provocation, he is capable of taking an iconoclastic attitude that recalls a famous passage in Voltaire's *Œdipe*, for he says of the gods :

L'ay puissance comme eux sur le destin des hommes,
Ils sont Dieux seulement dans l'erreur où nous sommes ;
Le vulgaire les craint, lors qu'un peu de vapeur,
De tonnerres, d'éclairs, et des vents luy fait peur ⁵.

Interesting, too, is the character of the devoted and intelligent, but not comic attendant. The woman he is to marry is an early example of the *suivante* without the name. Although we are supposed to see life of the fifth century, it is rather that of the seventeenth that is depicted, with a king who loves hunting and with the influence of women at court. Mairet shows his inexperience by overcrowding his last two acts, by lengthening too greatly the first scene of the first act and the first scene of the second, and by repeating his situations.

In certain respects the play is a forerunner of French classical tragedy. There is a definite concentration of interest, though no unity in the technical sense. There are several reversals of fortune, so that now one side, now the other has the advantage. The final solution is in the last few lines of the play and we are skilfully kept in suspense until the king makes his decision. There are several

(1) Cf. lines 773-784 and 1045-1052.

(2) Lines 361-414 and 1251-1272.

(3) Lines 73-88.

(4) In his review of my edition of this play (*R. H. L.*, XXXIII (1926), 114, 115) M. Lebègue suggests that the comic qualities of the host, which do not come from the *Astrée*, may be connected with a dramatic tradition descending from the Middle Ages, but he does not point out the connecting links. It seems more reasonable to suppose that Mairet, finding an innkeeper in his source, made him comic in order to fit the rôle to Gros Guillaume or some other actor of farces. The same thing was done by Du Ryer in the case of the butcher of *Lisandre et Caliste* and by Boisrobert when he gave comic lines to the jailer of *Pyrandre*.

(5) Lines 1007-1010.

examples of preparation, notably in the case of the king, whose change of heart is foreshadowed when he declares that he will not continue to love Chryséide if he cannot win her affections ¹, a statement that is not found in the source. The dialogue is often dramatic, there is only a moderate use made of *réçits* and of mythological references, and there is no violation of the proprieties. More important still are two scenes in which a psychological struggle takes place in the soul of an prominent person. In the first case Arimand, when he allows Bellaris to take his place in prison, cries :

Dieux ! que mon ame icy souffre de violence,
L'amour et le deuoir me tiennent en balance,
Si ie m'en vay sans luy c'est vne lâcheté,
Si ie demeure aussi, c'est vne cruauté ;
Amour, pitié, deuoir, Bellaris, ma Maistresse ²...

In the other passage the king expresses himself as follows :

Mais Dieux ! que mon esprit est bien à la torture
Repasant les effets d'une telle auanture,
Irresolu, perplex, diuisé, suspendu,
Comme dans vn dédale également perdu ;
Ie ne sçay si ie dois faire cheoir la balance
Du costé de l'amour ou de la violence ³.

Here lie germs that develop later into the psychological intrigue of classical tragedy. The fact that they are found in Mairet's first play is particularly important because in his *Sophonisbe* he gave the first example of a classical tragedy. That the play met with a good deal of success is shown by the fact that, in spite of Mairet's unwillingness to have it published, it was printed twice in 1630 ⁴ and a third time in 1639 ⁵. It figured in the repertories of both the leading French troupes ⁶ and was the first play by an author

(1) Lines 622 ff.

(2) Lines 915-919.

(3) Lines 1659-1664.

(4) Rouen, J. Besogne, 8° ; Paris, " iouxte la copie impr. à Rouën, " 8°.

(5) Rouen, J. Cailloüé, 8°.

(6) This is shown for the Hôtel de Bourgogne by its mention in the *Mémoire de Mahelot* ; for the troupe of Montdory by a reference in Seudery's *Comédie des comédiens*. Mahelot gives a sketch of the stage as it was to look when set for this play. In my edition of the latter I suggested that, since Mahelot declares that the tomb and altar appeared only in the last act, the curtain that hid them represented Gondebaut's palace. Dr. C. Appel, in reviewing my book (*Zeitschrift für franz. u. engl. Unterricht*, 1927, Heft 2, p. 137), thinks it quite as likely that the tomb and altar were put into place only in the last act, but he is obviously presupposing a curtain across the front of the stage, behind which scenery could be arranged as it is to-day. As I shall show in Chapter XI, there is no reason to believe that such a curtain existed at the Hôtel de Bourgogne in Mahelot's time, while there are several cases in which

of Mairêt's generation to be translated into Dutch. The statement of the translator shows that it had been successfully played in Holland :

Cette pièce a été jadis mise en vers par un gentilhomme français et, à ce qu'on m'a dit, jouée à plusieurs reprises par les Français ici. Comme tout le monde l'approuve et la vante, je l'ai traduite et rimée pour mon amusement dans notre langue néerlandaise ¹.

Echoes of the play are found in Mairêt's *Sylvie*. Auvray undoubtedly imitated it in his *Dorinde*, a tragi-comedy in which the same King Gondebaut plays an important part. This and other cases of influence will be discussed below ².

Mairêt could not rest upon his laurels, nor cling to a single genre. His turn of mind was distinctly experimental ³ and he could not fail to be impressed by the success of the pastoral play. His residence at Chantilly after the turmoil of a military campaign may also have determined him to write his first shepherd play, *SYLVIE*. It should be noted that his only pastoral was written there. Moreover the play is dedicated to the owner of Chantilly and its name is that which Théophile had applied to the duchess in his *Maison de Sylvie*. In the dedication Mairêt offers the work to Montmorency as a token of appreciation of the hospitality he had shown Théophile and himself. It is not, however, exclusively a product of life at Chantilly, for M. Marsan has shown ⁴ that he drew, not only on *Pyrame*, but on Racan's *Bergeries* and indirectly, if not directly, on the *Pentimento amoroso* of Groto ⁵.

To his mind the leading French plays must have been *Pyrame* and the *Bergeries*, both of which he had used in *Chryséide*, but chiefly the former. Now he turned rather to the *Bergeries* and employed its principal episode as the chief part of his framework, as M. Marsan shows. To this he added imitations of *Pyrame*, reminiscences of his own *Chryséide*, and much detail belonging to the general pastoral storehouse. He is chiefly concerned with the love of a young

Mahelet indicates very clearly that a compartment was hidden in the way I suggest and that, as he puts it in the case of Du Ryer's *Lisandre et Caliste*, the "fermeture sert de palais."

(1) Fransen, *op. cit.*, p. 10. It was translated by Heerman and published at Amsterdam in 1639.

(2) Cf. the studies of *Dorinde*, *l'Infidèle Confidente*, *Clitophon*, *l'Impuissance*, *Dorimène*, *Cléagénor*, *la Veuve*, *la Suivante*.

(3) His first six plays are classified as follows : an irregular tragi-comedy, a tragi-comédie pastorale, a regular pastoral, a comedy, a regular tragi-comedy, and a tragedy.

(4) Cf. the introduction to his edition of *Sylvie*.

(5) For minor details he may owe something to the *Aminta*, the *Pastor fido*, *Montreux*, *Montchrestien*, *Hardy*, *Malherbe*, and the *Folie de Silène*.

prince, Thélame, and Sylvie, a shepherdess. He had already depicted the love of a king for a woman of lower rank than his own, but in *Chryseïde*, as in the *Astrée* and *Pyrame*, the girl prefers the man of her own class to the king, while here she prefers the prince and democracy triumphs in their marriage. Not, however, without difficulty, for their love is opposed (1) by her parents, who see no hope of her marrying the prince and think it wiser to give her to a shepherd, Philène; (2) by a trick that Philène plays in order to make Sylvie believe that her prince loves another shepherdess; (3) by the opposition of the king, who, in order to prevent the union of his son and Sylvie, has a spell cast upon them both by a magician. It is to remove this spell that Mairét introduces Prince Florestan, whose love for the king's daughter constitutes a subordinate plot, as does also the love of Dorise for the shepherd, Philène, who prefers Sylvie.

M. Marsan summarizes the plot as follows¹: "trois actes de pastorale se rattachant à la *Diéromène* et aux *Bergeries* (I-III), un acte de tragédie où triomphent les considérations politiques (IV), un acte de tragi-comédie ou d'opéra (V)." But half the fourth act is purely pastoral and the political considerations are limited to the expression of the opinion that princes should marry in order to create alliances with foreign powers and heirs to the kingdom. The fifth act is extremely spectacular, but not more so than the fifth act of a contemporary pastoral, Troterel's *Philistée*². I should therefore call the play primarily a pastoral with a few elements of tragi-comedy³. It preserves many pastoral motifs, but chiefly those that are not supernatural, although magic is employed and an oracle speaks, for neither the magician nor the god appears on the stage, there is no satyr, no echo scene, no metamorphosis. As M. Marsan puts it⁴: "Sur l'écorce des arbres, aucun nom n'est gravé. Aucun amant ne se suicide. Personne ne célèbre l'âge d'or". Except in their vocabulary, the shepherds are real shepherds rather than nobles disguised as such. The setting is largely that of a pastoral and love triumphs over other considerations.

Mairét has learned the art of preparation. Instead of introducing Florestan at the end of the play, merely in time to rescue Thélame and Sylvie, he shows him to us in the first scene falling in love with the portrait of Meliphile, daughter of the King of Sicily⁵.

(1) *La Pastorale dramatique*, p. 372.

(2) Marsan points out the resemblance between the two pastorals in his edition of *Sylvie*, p. 219.

(3) I, 1; IV, 1; V, 2.

(4) Edition of *Sylvie*, p. xxxix.

(5) A fairly common motif, found in the *Amadis* and used by Du Ryer, Rotrou, Gœugenot, and Rampale.

As this scene is laid in Crete, it constitutes a very considerable violation of subsequent rules for unity. In the following scene we are in Sicily, where various references are made to time, though the action covers much more than twenty-four hours. Then comes the famous dialogue between Philène and Sylvie, said to have "tant plu à la cour" and, according to Fontenelle, to have been "tant récit   par nos p  res et nos m  res    la bavette ¹". It begins :

- P. : Beau sujet de mes feux et de mes infortunes,
Ce iour te soit plus doux et plus heureux qu'   moy.
S. : Iniurieux Berger qui tousiours m'importunes,
Ie te rends tout souhait, et ne veux rien de toy.
P. : Comme avecque le temps toute chose se change,
De mesme ta rigueur vn iour s'adoucira.
S. : Ce sera donc alors que d'une course estrange
Ce ruisseau reuolt   contre sa source ira...

M. Marsan shows that neither in form nor in content was such a dialogue a novelty. The most probable of the sources suggested would be Racan's *Bergeries*, IV, 3, except that the rime scheme is not the same. It is as likely that Mairet imitated a passage not hitherto mentioned in this connection, the Dialogue of Palemon and Doris in the *Astr  e*, Part II, Book VIII, which has the same meter, rime scheme, and subject matter, though there is no verbal resemblance. He may also have been influenced by the Dialogue of Damon and Silvie, published in the *Mercure fran  ois* of 1616, as M. E. Roy has pointed out ². The latter scholar thinks that this last poem may have suggested the publication of Mairet's dialogue separately from the rest of the play, as was done by Nicolas Talon in 1627. M. Marsan reproduced this first printed form of the dialogue in the introduction to his edition of *Sylvie*, arguing conclusively against the attribution of it to Th  ophile that was made during the *Cid* quarrel by the author of the *Avertissement au Besan  onnois*. He admits the possibility that Mairet first wrote the dialogue and then built his play around it, but thinks it more probable that Talon's edition is one of those "contrefa  ons si nombreuses qui suivent    peu pr  s tous les grands succ  s dramatiques". I am quite sure that the last explanation is the correct one, the more so as I date the composition of the play 1626, while M. Marsan places it in 1626 or 1627. It is very probable that, when the play was given in 1626, some one made a copy of the dialogue either from a manuscript or from the

(1) For the references cf. Marsan, *op. cit.*, pp. xii-xxvi, 171-175.

(2) *R. H. L.*, XXXI (1924), pp. 681, 682.

words of the actors and published it without the author's permission. This may have led Mairét to bring out the complete play more quickly than he would otherwise have done and before publishing his earlier *Chryséide*. At any rate he corrected and shortened the dialogue, as M. Marsan shows, before he published it in 1628, and made further corrections in later editions.

This first act ends with a scene in which Thélame describes to his sister, Meliphile, his devotion to Sylvie and a love scene between him and the latter. Both prepare for the progress of the love-affair and for the solution of the play, for we make the acquaintance of Meliphile before she performs her chief function, that of rewarding Florestan at the end of the pastoral.

The second act is concerned chiefly with the opposition of the heroine's parents to her affair with the prince. The theme is a conventional one in pastorals. M. Marsan thinks it was suggested to Mairét by a similar scene in Troterel's *Corrivaux*, though the coarseness of the latter play is lacking here. Sylvie's father fears the prince and insists that

Berger ie me propose vn Berger pour mon gendre ¹.

The mother is more inclined to trust her daughter's taste and has a secret hope, fortified by a dream, that all will turn out well. Sylvie refuses, however, to accept Philène, appeals to her mother for help, and assures her father she should prefer to take Diana's vow, but he refuses to listen to her protests. Philène takes matters into his own hands and tries to force Sylvie to give up the prince by making her believe she has lost his love. Ilis trick furnishes the play with a third act, based directly, as Marsan shows, on the *Bergeries*, and representing a tradition that descends from Groto's *Pentimento amoroso*. We have already encountered it in Boissin's *Urnes vivantes* and shall find it again in *Carline* and d'Urfé's *Sylvanire*. According to M. Marsan, Mairét's originality consists of his use of the *moucheron*, which, at Philène's request, Dorise tells Thélame is in her eye. While he is trying to blow it out, Philène directs Sylvie's attention to the couple and convinces her that the prince is unfaithful to her. In a similar fashion a magic mirror had been used in the *Bergeries*. Mairét's device is certainly more realistic. The success of the trick does not last long, for Dorise soon finds Sylvie lamenting her fate and asks (ll. 1190-1193) :

(1) Line 570. Cf. Mme Jourdain's attitude in the *Bourgeois gentilhomme* and that of the heroine's father in Du Ryer's *Vendanges*.

Que faites vous Bergere en ce lieu solitaire ?
 Voulez vous pas tenir le chemin du hameau ?
 Desia tous nos Bergers au son du chalumeau
 Quittent de tous costez le mont et la campagne ¹.

The conversation turns to love tricks and soon Dorise is telling Sylvie of the one she had played on Thélame without suspecting that she is revealing Philène's secret.

It is in the fourth act that the imitation of Théophile becomes considerable, as M. Marsan shows. He also points out a lesser indebtedness to Hardy's *Alcée* and *Félimène*, Boccaccio's *Filocolo* and the *Astrée*. The king and his *conseiller* discuss the situation and the former decides to have the lovers arrested and placed under a magic spell. The arrest of Sylvie is shown at the end of the act after she has laughed at Philène for the failure of his plan and reassured the prince of her love. In the interval between the last two acts the spell is cast. Each lover now thinks the other is dead and the king and magician, though repentant, cannot remove the charm. As this can be done only by a very brave knight, the king has promised his daughter to such a person, if he succeeds. When Florestan hears this, he at once offers his services, is accepted, then fights his way up steps that are defended by ghosts and evil spirits till he breaks (l. 2095)

Ce cristal que tu vois à la voûte attaché.

The spirits fly, Thélame and Sylvie are restored to their senses, and all obstacles are now removed to their marriage as well as to that of Florestan and Meliphile, of Philène and Dorise.

The idea of ending the play in a spectacular scene had already been realized in *Chryséide*. The two plays have, indeed, a good deal in common, for in both there is rivalry between a prince and a subject for the hand of a girl who is not herself of princely rank, both draw upon *Pyrame* for a scene in which a *conseiller* advises a king, and they use common topics, such as criticism of court life ² and a lover's enjoying resistance to his love ³. Even verbal similarities occur. Compare in *Chryséide* :

Il est vray qu'il me tient dans des liens dorez
 Qui mesme d'un grand Dieu deuroient estre adorez...

(1) The last couplet is reminiscent of lines I have quoted from the *Bergeries*, as Marsan notes, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

(2) *Chryséide*, lines 65, 66 ; *Sylvie*, line 997.

(3) *Chryséide*, lines 233-236 ; *Sylvie*, lines 60, 1440.

Le sens dedans mon sein glisser mille serpens...
 Ma Chryseide et moy te sommes desormais
 Tenus de tous les biens que nous aurons iamais ¹;

with these lines from *Sylvie* :

C'est elle qui m'arreste en des liens dorez,
 Qui mesme par vn Dieu deuroient estre adorez...
 Je sens dedans mon sein errer mille serpens...
 Cette Bergere et moy vous serons desormais
 Tenus de tous les biens que nous aurons iamais ².

The plays are alike, too, in their failure to observe the technical laws of unity their author was subsequently to introduce, in their concentration of interest, their respect for the proprieties, with the exception of one or two lines in *Sylvie*, their use of preparation and suspense, their descriptions of nature, and their introduction of a small comic element. Of the two *Sylvie* is the better constructed, for there is less repetition of situations and less use of the monologue, but it is less near the tragedy of the following decade in that the interest is dispersed over more persons and there are no scenes of psychological struggle. The time, however, had not yet come for the appreciation of the latter qualities and, as *Sylvie* presented to its audience a greater number of striking scenes in the pastoral or tragi-comic manner than did its predecessor, it was crowned with much greater success. It is referred to in Durval's *Matinée* of 1631 and probably in Rotrou's *Heureux Naufrage* ³. It seems to have influenced a number of plays ⁴. Like *Chryseide* it figures with a drawing in the *Mémoire de Mahelot* and in Scudéry's *Comédie des comédiens*, but while the former play was published only three times in the seventeenth century, Marsan lists fourteen editions or impressions of *Sylvie* between 1628 ⁵ and 1635, two in 1654, and seven between 1667 and 1716. Its author boasted that its popularity had lasted longer than that of the *Cid* since, after twelve or thirteen "impressions elle est encore aujourd'huy le *Pastor fido* des Allemands, et des beaux Esprits de Province ⁶". It was probably the most widely read play published in France before 1637 ⁷. This

(1) Cf. the index of my edition of *Chryseide* and lines 591, 592, 826, 861, 862. These resemblances are not mentioned by Marsan.

(2) Lines 311, 312, 520, 2191, 2192.

(3) Cf. below, Chap. VIII.

(4) Cf. below, my discussion of *Philistée*, *Niobé*, *Cardénio*, *Argénis et Poliarque*, *Omphalle*, *Trophées de la Fidélité*, *Vendanges de Suresne*.

(5) Paris, Targa, 8°. For other editions cf. Marsan, *op. cit.*

(6) Cf. Gasté, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

(7) The fact that Poisson in his *Baron de la Crasse* mentions it about 1662 as still

popularity was important for the future of the French stage. Since Théophile was dead and Hardy growing old, Mairet became, thanks to the reputation he won with his first two plays and especially with *Sylvie*, the leading French playwright, so that, when he attempted to introduce the three unities with his third play and subsequently gave the first model of a classical tragedy with his *Sophonisbe*, the public was ready to look with favor upon his innovations. He could then insist upon the psychological struggles he had sketched in his *Chryseïde* and upon a greater unity than he had given to his first two plays. He was a wise reformer who first won his public and then proposed a new technique. What need there was for such reform will be seen from a study of the plays that remain to be treated in this chapter.

III. — Tragedy

The tragic output of these years would be slight, were it not for V. Borée, who published in 1627 a volume of four tragedies entitled *les Princes victorieux* ¹. The publisher declared that he got the manuscripts from the author with great difficulty and that he was eagerly awaiting his partly written *Alexandriade*. The plays are dedicated to Charles Emmanuel, duc de Savoie; Victor Amédée de Savoie, prince de Piedmont, prince Thomas de Savoie, and Christine de Bourbon, princesse de Piedmont. The subjects are both medieval and ancient, historical and legendary. The technique and the vocabulary ² resemble closely those of Alexandre Hardy, one of whose plays we shall see that Borée imitated directly. That the tragedies were written to be played is shown by their stage-directions and by the fact that at the end of one of them there is a prediction that some day a tragic actor will portray the deeds of one of the leading characters.

The first two tragedies are based on what is supposed to be the ancestral history of the House of Savoy. They are entitled RHODES

forming part of provincial repertories is unimportant, for he mentions many other plays in the same connection that were far less successful.

(1) Lyons, Vincent de Cœursilly, 8°; *priv.*, July 22, *achevé*, Aug. 26, 1627. Each play is dated 1627 except that, in the copy at Harvard, *Tomyre victorieuse* bears the date "MDCXXV," from which the two bars that would make it 1627 have probably been omitted accidentally. The author must have been a jurist, if he is the Vincencius Boreus who published at Lyons in 1650 *Alvearium iuris melifluum in quo singulari prorsus et inusitata methodo continentur omnium contractuum et actionum Regulæ generales*.

(2) I find such words as *exercite*, *grand'erre*, *postposant*, *estrif*, *estour*, *isnelles*, *il craquette des dents*.

SUBIUGUÉE PAR AMÉ QUATRIESME COMTE DE SAVOYE SUR OTHOMAN PREMIER EMPEREUR DES TURCS and BERAL VICTORIEUX SUR LES GENEVOIS. The first play is inspired by the fact that Foulque de Villaret, Grand Master of the Knights of Saint John, took Rhodes in 1310 and subsequently repelled an attack made by the Turks, and that in the latter exploit he was aided by Amadeus V of Savoy. There are in the play a number of inaccuracies. The hero is Amadeus IV instead of Amadeus V. Foulque dies in battle, though in reality he did not. Amadeus is made to assist in the capture of Rhodes instead of in its subsequent defense. The Sultan is represented as present during the fighting in accordance with a tradition that has no foundation in fact¹. The structure of the play reminds one of the patriotic *intermèdes* of *les Amantes*. Scenes are shown alternately in the Christian and Turkish camps. Stirred by the shade of Gerard, a former Grand Master, Amé goes to help Foulque and arrives just as he is about to give up the siege. A battle takes place on the stage with the direction, "Bataille. Foulque blessé". After his death, Amé takes command, defeats the Turks, takes Rhodes, and departs. As this plot seemed a little thin and in need of a heart interest, a certain Clotane is introduced, a princess from Armenia. Apparently the Armenians are supposed by the author not to be Christians, for Clotane knows nothing of Christianity except that, when on a mission in France with her father, she was baptized and even this is afterwards denied. She disguises herself as a soldier, deserts to the French army, is instructed in Christian doctrine by a hermit, and assists in storming the city. When mortally wounded, she admits that she is a woman and that she loves Amé, to whom she leaves her kingdom. The episode is, perhaps, inspired by Tasso's account of Clorinda in the *Jerusalem*. In addition to these characters, we are shown Othoman consulting his pashas, as well as a Janissary and Pagne, an historical figure who became eventually head of the Order.

The desire to praise the Prince of Piedmont explains why the second play, BERAL VICTORIEUX, bears this title. Otherwise it would be hard to understand, for he plays a subordinate part, only remotely connected with the main action. Beral or Berol is said to have been the first Duke of Savoy, though the person meant is probably Berthold, comte de Maurienne, who was comte de Genevois after the year 1000 and was the father of Umberto Biancamano, first

(1) Cf. Iacomo Bosio, cited by H. A. Gibbons, *Foundation of the Ottoman Empire*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1916, p. 44.

Count of Savoy and preceding by many generations the first duke, Amadeus VIII, who flourished in 1400 ¹.

The leading characters are the Emperor Otto, Marie of Aragon, and Rosin. Saint Romuald ² is introduced, also. As the latter and Berthold lived at the end of the tenth century, Otto III is probably meant. One of his wives was named Marie, but she was Marie of Brabant, while Marie of Aragon was the daughter of Frederick II and lived much later. Nor do I find any historical basis for the principal plot in the life of Otto. The theme is a variation upon the familiar story of Potiphar's wife or upon that of Phaedra. Marie seeks in vain to seduce Rosin, then accuses him before the emperor, who has him beheaded. Rosin's wife, Blesille, and their child add pathos to the play. Beral, who has appeared in only one scene, returns after his victory, meets Blesille, and seeks to comfort her. In the space between the fourth and fifth acts important incidents take place, for we find at the beginning of the latter act that the emperor is now convinced of Rosin's innocence and agrees to take Saint Romuald's advice and bring up the children of the man he has unjustly put to death. We now learn that the empress is penitent and that the eunuch she employed has hanged himself, leaving a note, like the Phaedra of Euripides, that proves the empress's guilt. Otto decides to burn Marie and give Blesille four cities. He fears the future ill repute into which he will fall through the dramatization of his deeds :

Resiouys toy Rosin, vn iour l'Acteur tragique
Ton desastre plorant me dira frenetique
M'appellera barbare et louant ta pudeur
Me publiera partout l'ennemy de candeur.

But he had little reason to fear Borée.

The latter turned for his other plays to the ancients. In the preface to *ACHILLE VICTORIEUX* he mentions Dares and Dictys, but his play derives not only from them, but from Homer ³. Cassandra opens the play by prophesying to no avail the fate of Troy and of the royal family. Achilles sulks in his tent, comforted only by a "qui-

(1) Cf. *Biographie générale*, XLIII, 404 ff.

(2) For Saint Romuald's acquaintance with Otto III, cf. *Acta Sanctorum*, V, 116 (Feb. 7).

(3) For instance, the legend that the Greeks had carried off Priam's sister before Paris carried off Helen comes from Dares. The emphasis upon Memnon is derived from both Dares and Dictys, but the time of his death, after that of Penthesileia, can come only from Dictys. On the other hand, 1, 3 is directly inspired by the ninth book of the *Iliad*; II, 2, 3, by the eighteenth.

tare ". He is urged to return to battle by Ulysses and Phoenix, as in Homer, but agrees to fight only when the Greeks are in dire need. The interest shifts to Memnon, who accepts the Trojan version of the origin of the war and helps Hector defeat the Greeks. Patroclus is slain and the news is taken to Achilles as in Homer. Then follows Memnon's wooing of Polyxena, in which the influence of Hardy is clear. Memnon prepares to fight with Achilles, but, before they meet, Penthesileia is slain by the latter. In their encounter Memnon receives a mortal wound and Achilles learns that he is to die by the hand of Paris.

The influence of Hardy's *Mort d'Achille* is not hard to establish. The plays treat portions of the same theme. Borée substitutes Memnon for Achilles as the suitor of Polyxena and then gives him scenes that are found in Hardy, but not in the ancient sources. Priam's ambassador describes the approach of the Greeks as follows, according to Borée (I, 4) :

Ils approchent nos murs plus espais que fourmis,
A qui de picorer le Printemps a promis.

In Hardy's play the same approach is twice described. Priam declares (II, 1) :

Ia neuf tristes Hyuers franchissent leur carriere,
Que l'Europe feconde en jeunesse guerriere
Couure nos champs, ainsi que les Fourmis, alors
Qu'vn Printemps adoucy met l'herbage dehors.

Later (III, 2) Achilles returns to the subject and describes the Greeks

Fourmillant par scadrons, comme vn essain d'aouettes,
Qui retourne au Printemps picorer les fleurettes.

Borée has apparently mingled the two passages, using the word *picorer* for ants, while Hardy had applied it to bees. He follows Hardy also in the interviews between Memnon and Polyxena (II, 4, III, 4). In both cases the princess protests that she is not her suitor's equal in rank and declines to kiss him, on the ground that it is, before marriage, against the law of her country ¹. No such replies are in Dares and Dictys.

(1) Cf. above, pp. 46, 47, for a discussion of a parallel between this scene of courtship in Hardy and in Shakespeare.

The customs are those of the seventeenth century. Not only does Achilles play a guitar, but Polyxena gives him as a token an *écharpe azurée* and comment is made upon the subject of the dowry. Memnon declares that if Polyxena brings a *dot* with her, he will be like those who

Aux vices de ce temps se rendent tributaires (III, 1).

TOMYRE VICTORIEUSE is based on Herodotus, I, 205-214. The plot follows in the main the account of Cyrus's strategy, suggested by Cræsus, which resulted in the capture of the queen's son, his suicide, his mother's vengeance, and Cyrus's death. The ending is somewhat altered, for Cyrus is ambushed instead of being killed in a general engagement and the queen plunges his head into a skin filled with wine instead of blood¹. Inasmuch as all the events lead up to the death of Cyrus, the play is more unified than Borée's other tragedies. The scene is laid in both camps. There is fighting and killing on the stage. When Tomyre prepares her ambush for Cyrus, she bids her followers "attraper ce furieux poisson". Cyrus is represented as a worshiper of the sun, but references are also made to Greek divinities. Such a modern piece of armor as the *salade* is mentioned (II, 2) and the soldiers cry "Vive le Roy" when Cambyzes is proclaimed king. A few variations from the alexandrine rimed couplet occur. When the Massagetae become drunk from the wine left by the Persians (II,5), they express themselves in stanzas containing alternating lines of six and twelve syllables (*abab*). This rime scheme is also shown in the last four alexandrines of the second and fifth acts.

Borée is a disciple of Hardy, unaffected by the changes that were going on around him. He has much taking of counsel and much fighting, but very superficial psychology. A good example of this weakness is furnished by his failure to let us see why the emperor in *Beral* comes to the conclusion that he has put Rosin to death unjustly. The chief persons are often kept apart. Tomyre does not see Cyrus until his head is brought to her at the end of the play. Achilles and Memnon meet, but only to exchange a few insults. The plot of *Rhodes subjuguée* contains two parallel actions. In short Borée's tragedies are the work of a provincial, who makes no improvement upon Hardy.

(1) M. E. Gros, *Philippe Quinault*, Paris, Champion, 1926, pp. 311, 312, points out analogies between this play and Quinault's *Mort de Cyrus*. In both plays Cyrus wishes to marry the hostile queen, but, while Borée makes her only pretend to love him in order to accomplish her vengeance, in Quinault's play she is really in love with him.

The same statement can be made in regard to the style and structure of *PASIPHAË*. The chief thing that interests us in this play is the problem of its authorship. Was it written, as has been asserted, by Théophile de Viau? Mention is made of four seventeenth century editions: (1) Rouen, Jean Baptiste Behourt, 1627, 8°, bound with a copy of *Pyrame* that had been printed the same year at Paris and carrying on its title-page the statement that it was "nouvelle et n'a jamais esté représentée ¹"; (2) Paris, Charles et Claude Hulpeau, 1627, 8°, with the statement I have just quoted ²; (3) Paris, Charles Hulpeau, 1628, 12°, "derniere edition, reveuë, corrigée et embellie, outre les precedentes Impressions, par vn sien Amy ³"; (4) Troyes, Nicolas Oudot, 1631, 12° ⁴. In the *Au Lecteur* of the third of these the publisher writes:

Plusieurs esiment que ce Poëme est du style de feu Theophile. Vn de ses plus particuliers amys me l'a asseuré, et qu'il le fit au commençement qu'il s'introduisit en Cour: l'ay sur son affirmation creu que cela estoit ainsi.

This statement is accepted by Beauchamps ⁵ as proof that Théophile wrote the play, but the frères Parfaict ⁶, who seem to have used Hulpeau's edition of 1627, are inclined to doubt it. In the *Bib. du th. fr.* the statement is made that it is not certain that Théophile wrote the play, but that the opinion "la plus reçue" is that he did. Paul Lacroix ⁷, the champion of hopeless causes, after admitting that Philarète Chasles in an "excellent article ⁸" on Théophile had refused to attribute the play to him, finds that "on reconnaît pourtant Théophile dans des pensées hardies de ce genre:

... Pourquoi voudroient nous imputer les dieux
Ce que nature errant a fait de vitieux ? "

The editor of 1862 has little to add to the discussion, but he seems inclined to attribute the tragedy to Théophile. Dr. Schirmacher ¹⁰ comes to the conclusion that it was one of his early works, written about 1610-1612, at a time when she supposes him to have been

(1) *Soleinne*, no. 999.

(2) *Bib. du th. fr.*, I, 474, 475.

(3) Arsenal, B. L. 10702. It is this edition that was reprinted at Paris by Jules Gay in 1862. The book remains, however, very rare, for only 117 copies of the reprint were published.

(4) A copy of this edition is at the Bib. Nat.

(5) II, 63.

(6) IV, 279, 280.

(7) *Soleinne*, no. 999.

(8) *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1839.

(9) Act. I.

(10) *Op. cit.*, pp. 238-243.

under the influence of Ronsard and to have used a sixteenth century vocabulary. Her argument from internal evidence is based on the fact that in *Pasiphaë* she finds long tirades, expressions that recall the style of Ronsard, frequent use of the prefix *re*, the use of the term *mon souci*, which Minos addresses to his wife and which Dr. Schirmacher has been unable to find in other authors of the period than Théophile, lines that suggest what she takes to be Théophile's philosophy of life, and finally the couplet (IV) :

Les longues mains des roys peuuent par tout atteindre.
Je serois insensé de courre en vn exil,

which she compares with

Nous ne scaurions fuyr : les roys courent par tout,
Ils ont de longues mains qui par tout ce bas monde ¹.

But these arguments are not difficult to answer. Long tirades are characteristic of most plays of the period. As there is no evidence that Théophile ever wrote like Ronsard or used a sixteenth century vocabulary, and as there are in *Pasiphaë* many antiquated words ², some of which I find in Hardy, but not in Théophile, this is an indication that the latter did not write the play. It is unnecessary to reply to the absurd argument about the prefix. Dr. Schirmacher must prove that the use of it is peculiar to Théophile before she can expect any one to take her evidence seriously. If she had read more widely in the period, she would have found that princes " ont bien fort longues les mains " in Rivaudeau's *Aman* ³ and that *mon souci* is in Hardy's *Théagène et Cariclée* ⁴. If one could accept the kind of evidence that Dr. Schirmacher submits,

(1) *Pyrame*, III, 1. She might also have mentioned the resemblance between a line in Théophile's *Plainte à un sien amy* (*op. cit.*, II, 158) :

Car tousjours de deux maux faut esviter le pire

and this verse from *Pasiphaë* (III) :

De deux malheurs au choix, il faut laisser le pire,

but this would mean, at most, only that one author had read the other's production. Cf. also *Chryseide*, I, 1123, the note in my edition, and the *Astrée*, IV, 719 (ed. of Paris, Courbé, 1633).

(2) Such are *rengreger*, *bienheurer*, *malheurer*, *ambagieux*, *froidureuse*, *mechef*, *cholerez*, *vagueux*, *refrigere*, *recous*, *nuicieux*, *retiver*. Dr. Schirmacher admits that Théophile did not use *vagueuse plaine* in his other works (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 234). His vocabulary, as we know it, is almost as modern as that of Corneille.

(3) Act IV.

(4) For the references cf. my edition of *Chryseide*, p. 125. I would not argue that Hardy wrote *Pasiphaë*, but from internal evidence, it would be easier to do so than to prove that Théophile did. Note that Hardy's *Ariadne ravie* has much the same plot as *Pasiphaë* and that in both Minos uses the obsolete word *naux* in planning the pursuit of his daughter.

one could prove that Théophile wrote Mairet's *Chryseide*, which is much closer to *Pyrame* than *Pasiphaé* is. In short, the internal evidence rather shows that Théophile was not the author of the play, for the resemblances in ideas may be due to chance or the fact that one author was influenced by the other, while style and vocabulary are quite different.

The statement of the publisher is of no value, for this same Hulpeau

profitait de la vogue des poésies de Théophile et du bruit fait autour de sa mort, pour écouler un volume de vers dont le succès était loin de s'affirmer : l'"Ouvrage poétique du sieur de La Charnays." Il efface ce titre sur la planche du frontispice, et le remplace par le suivant : *Les Vers satyriques et énigmatiques du Nouveau Théophile* ; de plus, il enlève les 8 ff. prél. contenant l'épître dédicatoire et l'avis au lecteur ¹.

M. Lachèvre ² also cites a passage from Théophile's friend, Guillaume Colletet, who refers to *Pasiphaé* as follows :

Ce Monstre de l'Antiquité...
 Ces vers sans règle, et sans mesure,
 Sont beaucoup plus Monstres que luy.

Colletet, as M. Lachèvre remarks, would not have attacked the play if he had thought Théophile had written it and he was in a much better position than are we to know who was the author of it. It should also be borne in mind that *Pasiphaé* is neither printed nor mentioned in any way in Théophile's collected works and that it did not figure, as did *Pyrame*, in his trial, although Father Garasse could easily have made capital out of the dramatization of such an indecent subject as the myth of Pasiphae. Nobody suggests, of course, that Théophile wrote it after the trial, for in the few years that remained to him he was either in prison or seeking to avoid giving cause for further persecution. I agree, then, with Garisson ³ that it is hard to see in the attribution of the play to Théophile anything more than the venture of an enterprising bookseller, who wished to exploit the fame of the poet just after his death.

Contradictory statements are made by the publishers as to the age of the play. In the first two editions it is declared to be new and never acted. In the third we read that, while a friend of the dead poet had revised this edition, earlier ones had been based on a

(1) Lachèvre, *Procès de Théophile*, II, 54, 55.

(2) *Ibid.*, I, 7.

(3) *Op. cit.*, p. 124.

“ vieil manuscript mal dressé ”. One can conclude only that it was written before 1627. How much longer before, it is impossible to say.

The title is poorly chosen and may be due to the publisher's desire to attract attention and to make the public believe he had on sale another licentious publication by the famous “ libertin ”. Pasiphaë appears in the first act only, after which the play is devoted to the killing of the Minotaur and the flight of Theseus with Adriadne and Phædra. In the second act Minos gives the terms of peace to the Athenian ambassadors ; in the third they report to Ægeus, who reluctantly agrees to the terms and sends off the fourteen young men and maidens to be sacrificed. In the fourth act Ariadne becomes the central figure, falls in love, and plans to rescue Theseus. The fifth act includes the entrance of the Athenians into the labyrinth, the slaying of the minotaur, and the flight of Theseus with the two daughters of Minos. We hear no more of their mother, and their father is left planning pursuit.

Hulpeau declares in his *Au Lecteur* that the source of the play is the eighth book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Dr. Schirmacher notes the fact that *Pyrame* is also derived from Ovid, but, before basing an argument on this coincidence, she should have determined whether Hulpeau's statement was correct. Now there are allusions to the myth both in the seventh and eighth books, but the story does not form a continuous narrative and certain important details are omitted. Plutarch's life of Theseus is a much more probable source. It is better than Diodorus, who fails to refer to the thread, as Plutarch and the author of *Pasiphaë* do. There are, however, some details that are not explained by reference to the ancient sources, notably the departure of Phædra with her sister and Theseus and the poisoning of the minotaur with drugs supplied by Ariadne. Only the first of these motifs is found in Hardy's *Ariadne ravie* and in Antonius Triton¹, but both of them are in Garnier's *Hippolyte*², which seems to be the immediate source of these details in *Pasiphaë*.

(1) *Mythologia*, Padua, 1616 (dedication dated 1570), p. 46 : “ Ariadnam vna cum Phædra sorore abductam. ”

(2) In an introductory monologue which has no equivalent in the Hippolytus plays of Seneca and Euripides these lines occur :

... ce monstre inhumain,
Qui glouton de l'appas, que ta main cauteleuse
Jetta par pelotons dans sa gorge monstrueuse,
S'abbatit au sommeil, te permettant plonger
Au travers de son cœur ton poignard étranger.

A few lines further on reference is made to the thread and to Theseus's carrying off the two daughters of Minos.

The structure of the tragedy is most irregular. It is not given even the unity that it might have received had it been explained that the evils that befell Minos and his wife were due to their neglect of jealous gods. The whole of the first act could be omitted without loss to the plot. The interest soon shifts from Ariadne's parents to her lover and herself. We are left at the end of the play with no information as to the result of Minos's pursuit, or the future relations of Theseus to the two sisters. Phaedra is entirely unnecessary to the action. She is introduced for the first time in the fifth act, shows no special interest in her sister's lover, and agrees to marry Hippolytus, suddenly brought into the story as the son of Theseus, though the latter had been represented as a very young man. The action takes place in Crete and at Athens. We are even shown the interior of the labyrinth, though it is not clear whether the monster is killed before the eyes of the spectators or the event merely reported by the companions of Theseus. The time of the play must cover a good many years, since it runs from the birth of the minotaur till after his death.

Despite these evidences of negligence and its barbarous style and versification, the play has certain merits. Pasiphae and her " *damoiselle d'honneur* " sometimes recall Racine's Phèdre and Cénone. The horror of the guilty queen over the thought (I)

que d'un taureau beuglant mon ventre ait auorté !

is expressed with force, if not with elegance. She begs her attendant to kill her, but she does not confess her crime to her husband, who, while expressing his shame and indignation over the birth of the minotaur, lays no blame upon his wife. Minos's character is softened by the fact that his demand for victims is made in obedience to an oracle. Noteworthy are the boatman who pities the young people he is taking to Crete and the jailer who adds a slightly comic element to this somber drama and enables the author to write an interesting scene in which Ariadne attempts to bribe him. More important is the scene in the third act in which there is a psychological struggle when Ægeus is obliged to choose between the ruin of his country and the death, each year, of fourteen of his subjects. While this seems to anticipate classical tragedy, the following passage contains lines of grotesque realism that are far removed from it (III) :

Fille : Mais en nostre printemps nous est rauy le jour !

Thésée : Hé ! c'est en quoy les Dieux nous obligent encore :

La viellesse d'ennuis ainsi ne nous deuore ;

Nous ne sçaurons que c'est d'un continu cracher,
 Qui nous vient les poulmons en phlegmes arracher ;
 D'estre sourds, chassieux et glassez d'un catherre ;
 Bref de traîner vn corps qui n'est rien que de terre,
 Entrer au monument aussi secs que les os
 Qui s'y seroient tenus par des siecles enclos.

IV. — Pastoral

The pastoral is the most important genre of this period, for it includes, as we have seen, Mairet's very popular *Sylvie*, also the *Sylvanire* of d'Urfé, interesting both on account of its author's name and because of his use of blank verse and other curious novelties, and several plays that are of some importance in the development of the type of comedy written by Corneille at the beginning of his career.

The first pastoral to be discussed, if it could be found and its date determined, might be an adaptation of Guarini's *Pastor fido* in which Bellerose played before the middle of 1627 and which may have been written by Boisrobert ¹. As it is, precedence belongs to Honoré d'Urfé ², the permission to print whose *SYLVANIRE* was obtained on April 12, 1625 ³. The play cannot have been completed later than this, for d'Urfé almost immediately became engaged in the military campaign in which he contracted the malady that ended his life. It was probably finished not long before, as there would be little reason to delay obtaining a *privilege*, for the author was well known and very popular and the play is too long to make one believe

(1) It is mentioned at the beginning of the *Berger extravagant* ; cf. E. Roy, *Charles Sorel*, pp. 121, 122 and, below, p. 526.

(2) Cf. O. C. Reure, *la Vie et les œuvres d'Honoré d'Urfé*, Paris, Plon-Nourrit, 1910. Born at Marseilles of a noble family domiciled for generations in Forez, he grew up in an atmosphere of culture and in the part of France he loved to describe. He attended the Jesuit school at Tournon, took part in the religious wars as a member of the League, married in 1600 Diane de Chateaumorand after the annulment of her marriage to his brother Anne. He led the life of a *grand seigneur* in Forez, in Savoy, and at Paris, devoting much of his time to his novel and his poems. In his last years he fought against Spain as colonel-général in the army of the Duke of Savoy. After taking part in operations north of Genoa, he fell sick and died in 1625. His great work, the *Astrée*, ran through many editions. It was printed for the first time as follows : Part I, 1607 ; Part II, 1610 ; Part III, 1619 (first three books in 1617) ; Part IV, 1627 (first four books and a little of the fifth, but not the story of *Sylvanire*, in 1624) ; Part V, end of 1627. The last part was written by Baro, but based on the notes and oral communications of d'Urfé. Baro also saw the fourth part through the press after d'Urfé's death. For a study of the editions and sources of the novel cf. Maurice Magendie, *Du nouveau sur l'Astrée*, Paris, Champion, 1927.

(3) Printed at Paris by Robert Fouet in 1627, 8°.

it was acted. It had, however, been planned several years earlier, for in the author's preface to *Marie de Médicis* he writes that its "habits italiens ne vous peuuent estre estrangers, et mesme c'est par vostre commandement qu'elle est ainsi reuestuë, y ayant quelques années qu'il pleust à vostre majesté de me le commander."

Does this mean that Marie, interested in the first three parts of the *Astrée*, had asked him to write a play in blank verse that would be based on it, or had she seen an earlier sketch of the play under discussion, or, again, had she been shown in manuscript the episode of *Sylvanire*, afterwards printed in the fourth part of the *Astrée*? This brings us to the vexed question as to whether the play was derived from the prose episode or the prose episode from the play. Now there can be no doubt about the fact that the play is inspired both by the *Astrée* and by Italian and French pastorals, for it contains the setting and some of the characters of d'Urfé's novel¹, while, on the other hand, it introduces a satyr, common to many Italian and French pastoral plays, but found nowhere in the *Astrée*, and treats certain themes that often occur in them. The question is whether the principal plot first appeared in the play or in the prose episode called *Sylvanire*². Dannheisser argues that the episode is not like other parts of the *Astrée*, since the characters found in it are real shepherds and shepherdesses, not gentlemen and ladies disguised as such. But this argument will not withstand examination. It is true that most of the episodes of the *Astrée* are chivalric rather than pastoral, but such stories as that of Tircis and Laonice (Part I, Books I and VII) or of Delphire and Thaumantes (Part IV, Book I) are as thoroughly pastoral in their characters as is the episode of *Sylvanire*. There is, then, no reason to conclude that the latter episode was taken from the play. On the other hand, it should be noted that the defense of the lovers is undertaken by Hylas in the play, by Silvandre in the prose episode. Now certainly of the two, Silvandre, logician and idealist par excellence, is the person to whom d'Urfé would most naturally assign this rôle and not Hylas, philanthropist and skeptic. This fact leads me to believe that the prose episode is the original form of the story and that, when d'Urfé wrote the play, he substituted Hylas for Silvandre because he had intro-

(1) Hylas andAdraste are given rôles in the play. They had already been found in the first two parts of the *Astrée*, but they do not appear in the *Sylvanire* episode of the fourth part. Moreover Stelle, Palemon, Doris, and Climanthe, who figure in earlier portions of the novel, are mentioned in the play (I, 3, 6, V, 3).

(2) Germa's argument (*L'Astrée d'Honoré d'Urfé*, Toulouse, Privat, 1904, p. 22) is worthless, for he assumed that the episode had appeared in the unauthorized edition of the *Astrée* published in 1624. The fact that the episode did not appear until 1627 was pointed out by Dannheisser, *R. F.*, V, 59-64.

duced the former for comic purposes earlier in the play and he did not wish to bring in a new character merely to carry on a debate. It may be added that the episode fits very well into the *Astrée*, where it is narrated with little change of tone or variety of incident, while the play is more complex and varied. It must also be remembered that d'Urfé was primarily a novelist and that, while it was common to derive plays from novels, it was unusual to reverse the process. The most reasonable conclusion seems to be that d'Urfé had composed the prose episode some years before his death, that the queen asked him to dramatize either that story or some other part of the *Astrée* and give it a metrical form then popular in Italy, that, when he decided to write the play, he selected this episode as one that had not been made public and added to it scenes from other parts of the *Astrée*, especially those concerned with Hylas and Adraste. The scenes in which the satyr figures and the choruses were added under the influence of other pastoral plays ¹.

The *Au Lecteur* contains an early and interesting defense of free verse. D'Urfé declares that he had been at first surprised to find many Italian plays written in "vers libres et non rimez," but he felt that speaking in rime does, indeed, shock our ideas of verisimilitude and now he would introduce into France this Italian habit of imitating conversation by omitting rime and by mixing meters. He will occasionally use rimes, accurate or defective, because they sometimes occur in conversation. In order to have pauses without putting them into the line, he writes verses of 4 and of 6 syllables, for 6 plus 6 gives us the alexandrine with the caesura in the middle and 4 plus 6 constitutes the *vers commun* of 10 syllables with the pause after the fourth syllable. He then makes the following contribution to the quarrel of the ancients and moderns. We see, he says, more than they,

car tout ainsi qu'un Nain estant sur la teste d'un Geant, verra quoy que plus petit,
plus loin que ne fera pas ce grand Colosse, de mesme ayant les inuentions de ces
grands Anciens et par ainsi estans sur leurs testes, nous voyons sans doute plus auant
qu'ils n'ont pas fait.

This is an interesting variation upon the theme that we represent the old age of the world, the ancients its youth, and that consequently we know more than they do without necessarily being their intellectual superiors or even their equals ². He adds that now verse

(1) For the opposite conclusion cf. Dannheisser, *loc. cit.* Marsan, on p. 440 of his *Pastorale dramatique*, seems inclined to agree with him.

(2) I find no mention of d'Urfé in discussions of this question, although he was

has its "but essentiel de plaire, et par accident de profiter." Although he occasionally adds verses of 3 and of 5 syllables, M. Marsan considers his lines more monotonous than the regular meters he discards. Certainly his reform produced no results of any consequence, for no connection can be traced between him and the modern adherents of free verse. Nevertheless his attempt is interesting and some of his lines are well worth quoting, even if we do not accord them the immortality that his secretary, Baro, promises him in an introductory poem.

The play is so long, running to 429 pages, that it seems probable that it was never acted except in the adaptation Mairet was to make of it. The plot¹ contains many familiar pastoral elements. Not only are the main persons shepherds and shepherdesses, but there are a satyr, an echo, a madman, a chain of lovers, and debates about honor, paternal tyranny, and love. Now Marsan has shown that it is chiefly these discussions that are taken from earlier pastorals, the *Aminta*, the *Pastor fido*, Hardy's *Alcée*, the *Bergeries*, and the *Myrtillo* of Isabella Andreini. He calls attention to the similarity between the main episode and the plot of *Romeo and Juliet*, the source of which d'Urfé could have read in Bandello, or in Boais-tuau's translation of the latter. A somewhat similar episode occurs in the *Clitophon and Leucippe* of Achilles Tatius. There are also echoes of the *Astrée* in Sylvanire's resistance to love, in the rôle of Hylas, who argues against passionate and single-minded devotion to love, and in that of the mad Adraste.

A prologue delivered by Fortune, dressed as a shepherdess, begins

apparently the first to use the comparison of the dwarf on the giant's head, subsequently employed by Fontenelle. Cf. H. Rigault, *Histoire de la querelle des anciens et des modernes*, Paris, Hachette, 1859; the Spedding, Ellis, and Heath edition of Francis Bacon, London, Longmans, 1875, I, 458, 459; H. Gillot, *la Querelle des anciens et des modernes en France*, Nancy, 1914; F. E. Guyer, *M. L. N.*, XXXVI (1921), 257-264.

(1) The love of Aglante and Sylvanire is crossed by her prudishness, by the fixed opposition of her parents, who would marry her to the wealthy Théante, and by the rivalry of Tirinte, whose friend, Adraste, gives him a magic mirror, supposed to win for him the love of the heroine. When, however, she looks into it, she is so seriously affected that she is thought to be dying and is taken to the temple of Esculapius. Aglante swoons when he hears of this. His grief and the anticipation of death make Sylvanire confess her love for him, and her parents, thinking she will die, agree to the marriage. Apparently dead, she is placed in a tomb, but she is roused from her lethargy by Tirinte, rescued from him by shepherds, and united to Aglante after Théante, seeing that she does not love him, has declined to marry her. Tirinte is condemned to death by the druids for his attempt upon Sylvanire, but he is rescued by Fossinde's offer to marry him. Her long courtship of Tirinte and the satyr's unsuccessful attempt upon her constitute subordinate episodes. For further information, cf. Koerting, *Geschichte des französischen Romans*, Leipzig, 1891; Lefranc, *Revue des Cours et Conférences*, 1904-05, 2^e série, pp. 548-550; Marsan, *op. cit.*, pp. 375-378; Reure, *op. cit.*, pp. 336-343.

the play and there is a chorus at the end of each act. In the latter, rimes are employed and verses of 6, 8, 10, and 12 syllables. Elsewhere, as I have said, rime seldom occurs and the play is chiefly written in lines of 4 and 6 syllables. I have noted no cases of hiatus or of irregular syllable-counting. Many comparisons are made to animals and to such ordinary objects as weather-vanes, kettles, and distaffs. Note the following definitions of love (I, 9) :

Amour, fillette, est le ieu Coquimbent
 Qui gagne perd.
 Amour est au contraire
 D'une chastagne en gousse
 Picquante par dehors,
 Et par dedans fort douce.
 Amour est la lanterne,
 Mais lanterne allumée,
 Au dedans est le feu,
 Dehors quelque clarté,
 Mais beaucoup de fumée.

Classical allusions are reduced to a minimum. While the style like that of d'Urfé's prose, is often insipid and tedious, there are flashes of humor and of lyricism that suggest La Fontaine and Molière. The following lines from the scene just quoted contain the subject matter, the dramatic touch, even the vocabulary of the great fabulist :

En bref Amour ressemble à la souris
 Qu'un chat poursuit,
 Et qui s'enfuit
 Deçà, delà
 Enfin voilà
 Qu'elle rencontre un trou,
 Monsieur le chat trompé
 En peut chercher une autre à son soupié.

Aglante tells Hylas (III, 1)

Qu'amour n'est pas semblable à la chemise
 Qu'on peut laisser pour en vestir un autre,

a fact that is admitted and regretted by Sganarelle's wife when she, remarks that one is not allowed

A changer de mari comme on fait de chemise ¹.

(1) Molière, *Sganarelle*, line 138.

The following lyrical commonplace is found in IV, 7 :

Que la beauté dont on fait tant de cas
Enfin est peu de chose
Vn bouton le matin
Qui s'esclost au midy,
Et qui le soir se fane.

A reminiscence of Dante, probably indirect, occurs twice ¹ :

... amour iamaïs l'aymer
A l'aymé ne pardonne ;

and

Et cependant l'amour
Qui, comme on dit, ne pardonne iamaïs
A la personne ayinée
Les cruautez qu'elle fait à qui l'ayme.

Lines in V, 8, suggest the manner of M. Claudel .

Par la corne on attache
Les bœufs et les taureaux,
L'homme par sa parole.

The pastoral is enlivened by comic passages, some of which have been quoted. They involve criticism of women, the badgering of the satyr, references to horns, etc. The ideas expressed do not possess a great deal of originality, but it is interesting to note the stress placed on allowing young people to choose their own mates (II, 4 ; III, 3, 4 ; V, 12) and the protest made against man-made laws (II, 2). Some dramatic skill is displayed by the use of preparation (III, 2) and of suspense (III, 9). The play did not revolutionize French versification, but it did supply dramatic material that was to be used, in Mairêt's reworking of it, to revolutionize the structure of French plays. It is consequently not only quaint, but important.

Pierre Troterel, sieur d'Aves, whom we have studied as the author of a prose pastoral and two farcical comedies, now contributes two pastorals in verse. The first of these, *ARISTÈNE*, was published at Rouen by David du Petit-Val in 1626, 12^o, with a dedication to a local nobleman, the comte de Grand Cey et de Médavy. Although the plot ² is largely conventional, the play is by no means without

(1) III, 7, and V, 12. Cf. *Inferno*, V, 103. It is also found in the Sylvanire episode of the *Astrée*.

(2) Ioësse, a shepherdess, hesitates between an impetuous young shepherd and an elderly widower, a drover to whom her parents have promised her, until the two lovers quarrel and the shepherd drives his rival into the woods with stones. As the latter fails to return, Aristène, the shepherd, is accused of murdering

merit. M. Marsan¹ has noted the realistic treatment of the characters, especially in the scene of the trial (IV, 1), where we see a judge, a *greffier*, a jury or *chœur* of shepherds, and three old shepherd witnesses, the first of whom is frightened by the clerk's gruffness. When the testimony is all in, the judge says :

Or c'est assez, désormais bouche close,

and they vote by putting " petits cailloux dans le vase ". At the end of the play the judge reverses the decision of the court :

Pour vostre arrest au neant reuoquer,
Il est cassé.

The characters often express themselves in a simple and natural manner. Note the description of the heroine (II, 2) :

Son œil est beau, mais elle a le teint brun,
Après cela, horsmis vn peu sa bouche,
Elle n'a rien qui bien viuement touche.

She enters, driving her sheep, one or two of which may have been seen on the stage, and calling to them (I, 1) :

Cà reuenez, où voulez vous errer,
Ce n'est pas là qu'il vous faut pâturer,
Sus reuenez, vous estes bien friande,
Ce beau blé verd n'est pas vostre viande.

Aristène greets her with a line worthy of Ronsard, if not inspired by him :

Bon iour mon heur, mon bien, ma chere vie².

Cyane gives to the hero at the end of the play this proof of her devotion :

Mon cher pasteur ouurez vostre bougette,
Et receuez ce que dedans ie iette,

him, is tried, and condemned to banishment, but a satyr discovers Deolis, the drover, who had fallen into a well, and reports the fact to shepherds, who pull him out. He is then married to Ioesse, while Aristène consoles himself with a second shepherdess, Cyane, whom we have seen escape from a satyr twice, once by the familiar trick of sending him for a drink of water (cf. above, the discussion of *les Amantes* in Chapter III).

(1) *Op. cit.*, pp. 351, 352.

(2) Cf. Laumonier's edition of Ronsard, I, 150 :

Bon iour mon cœur, bon iour ma douce vie.

C'est de l'argent de mon petit troupeau,
Et quelque linge avec vn deuanteau ¹.

The most successfully delineated character is Deolis, a genuine peasant, whose oath is " ventre de bœuf " and who is afraid both of Aristène and the difficulties that may follow his marriage with a woman much younger than himself. The broadly comic scenes are chiefly those connected with the satyr, which are mainly episodic, though he contributes to the main action by his discovery of Deolis in the well. The dénouement is peculiar in that it is brought about by the heroine's accepting, not the charming hero, but his unattractive rival. Preparation is made for it by the introduction of an old shepherd, who, early in the second act, advises Aristène to give up Ioesse.

The tendencies towards comic realism of this play are more fully emphasized in the same author's *PHILISTÉE* ², at least in the first three acts, which give us an amusing picture of genuine peasant life. Unfortunately the rest of the pastoral is devoted to spectacular scenes, in which magic has an essential part, written, perhaps, under the influence of Mairet's *Sylvie*. The chief figure is that of an old man, Hermon, who differs from the drover of *Aristène* in that he is not seeking a wife and is much more avaricious and cruel. One day he had lost three *oboles* to a friend, had quarreled with him, thrown him down, and was striking him with a stone when young Partenis intervened, whereupon Hermon attacked him. Partenis declared afterwards that Hermon struck him (I, 1)

bien verd sur les oreilles,
Mais tost apres il eut billes pareilles,
Car luy sautant au collet rudement,
Iel'étrillé certes honnestement.

Unfortunately Partenis is in love with Hermon's daughter, Philistée, who, like the heroine of the *Cid*, must take her father's side in the quarrel. Hermon longs for revenge, for he sees the marks of the blows every time he looks at his face in the water, and has even lain in wait for his enemy. However, when Partenis sends an

(1) According to Huguet, *Dictionnaire de la langue française du XVI^e siècle*, Paris, Champion, 1925, p. 1x, this word did not give way to its equivalent, *tablier*, till after the XVIth century.

(2) Rouen, David du Petit-Val, 1627, 12°, dedicated to Dame Renée de Rouxel de Médavy.

apology, he is willing to consider it, provided an ox is given him, for he pretends that he has had to present one to the physician for treating his wounds. The ox is brought within " six pas " of stage, but Hermon will not receive Partenis until a friend has given him four gold pieces. Apparently won by the ox and the money, he embraces Partenis and tells him that he would imitate the gods (II, 2),

Dont la bonté pardonne aux vicieux.

But he keeps his grudge, for, when he leaves the stage, he says to Partenis and his friend :

Adieu Pasteurs, ie vais à mon labeur,

but adds, aside,

Vueille le Ciel t'enuoyer du malheur.

He is the chief figure in another comic scene. When asked to give his daughter to a wealthy shepherd, he is quite interested till he learns that the man is Partenis. He explains why his face

Semble changer en refoignant soudain

by attributing his expression to a " rude collique " (III, 2) :

Quelle douleur m'époinçonne le ventre,
Excusez-moy s'il vous plaist, si ie rentre.

The situation is not unworthy of Molière¹. Comic, too, is the scene between the two shepherdesses, Philistée and Leonitte, in which, after a highly seasoned jest, the former declares (I, 2)

I'en ris si fort que l'eau m'en vient aux yeux.

The playful love scene of III, 1 would certainly not be out of place in a comedy :

Philistée : Declarez donc quels mots ont la puissance
De vous aider, donnez m'en connoissance.

Partenis : Or oyez les, puis dites apres moy,
Mon cher Pasteur ie vous donne ma foy.

(1) Cf. *le Malade imaginaire*, I, 3.

- Philistée : Vous la donner ? vous me la baillez belle,
 Je ne veux pas estre iamais sans elle,
 Que diroit on ? que ie serois sans foy,
 L'on ne voudroit plus se fier en moy.
- Partenis : Cela s'entend me la bailler en gage.
- Philistée : Non s'il vous plaist.
- Partenis : Pour vn plus clair langage,
 Escoutez donc, ayez de moy pitié,
 Et me donnez vostre belle amitié.
- Philistée : Non non Berger, ie ne m'en puis défaire,
 Comme la foy ie la tiens necessaire.
- Partenis : Que vous sert-elle.
- Philistée : Et ie sçay bien à quoy,
 Pour aimer ceux qui m'aimer l'aperçoy.

But, however promising this may be for the future of comedy, little can be said in favor of the last half of the play. In III, 4, Hermon visits Demonax, a magician, who with the help of devils makes a circle about Philistée in a wood and keeps her there by the force of his charms and the help of two panthers. Hermon tells Partenis where she is, in the hope that he will be killed in attempting to rescue her and is so sure that he will die that he even promises him his daughter if he can bring her back to safety. When Partenis tries to cross the magic circle, we see a "combat horrible" between him and "les Feres". He falls. His friend Crisis, who seeks to rescue him, falls also, whereupon Leonitte, who loves the latter, rushes in and meets with the same fate. Philistée climbs upon a rock in order to kill herself. Hermon now comes up rejoicing (V, 3),

I'en vay sauter trois sauts ioyeusement,

and would finish Partenis with a knife, but at this point Demonax repents, revives the lovers, and forces Hermon to consent to his daughter's marriage. The knot could have been untied without this change of heart, for oracular verses, inscribed in the forest, had declared that Philistée must remain there till an amorous shepherd ran the risk of being killed by the panthers in an effort to save her. This makes the situation so close to that found in the last act of *Sylvie* that there must be some connection between the two plays. If *Philistée* was written no earlier than the last months of 1626, it may have been influenced by Mairet's pastoral¹. M. Marsan² points to the influence of the *Astrée* upon Crisis, who resembles

(1) The ending also resembles the conclusion of the *Astrée*, but here, if influence exists, it must be that of Troterel on Baro, for the fifth part of the *Astrée* did not appear until after *Philistée*.

(2) *Op. cit.* p. 354.

Hylas, and quotes a couplet from I, 1, to prove it. He might have added a reference to II, 3, where, when Leonitte accuses him of having loved nineteen shepherdesses, he replies that she ought to love him the more for preferring her to so many ¹.

A play that is more purely in accordance with the pastoral tradition, but is interesting on account of its style and its stage-directions is *LA CARLINE* of Antoine Gaillard, sieur de Porteneille ², classified as a *comédie pastorale*. The chief portion of the plot is derived from the *Pentimento amoroso* of Groto ³. A comic element is added by old Francine, an ineffective go-between. Her chief business is to create amusement by making love to the satyr, Turquin, in very plain language. We do not learn whether her passion is satisfied. The play ends with the dancing of the actors, headed by "la vieille".

The pastoral is smoothly and gracefully written. The acts are not subdivided, monologues are used too much, there are vulgar lines, and the last act deprives the play of unity it might otherwise have had, but it is, as M. Marsan puts it, "alerte, et vive, et point ennuyeuse". That it was written to be acted is shown by the numerous and detailed stage-directions, chiefly found in the third and fifth acts :

Mais il faut qu'il y ayt quelque espace entre deux pour donner temps à Palot de s'endormir, et à Nicot de trouuer Lysete... le baise, se couchant auprès... le rebaïse... Nicot reuient avec Carline à laquelle il montre à l'autre bout de la salle Palot et Lysete couche ensemble, et Lysete qui baise Palot endormy (III)... Durant ces mignardises Carline ayant ietté le bras droict sur l'espaule de Palot et luy tenant le col enlacé de l'autre main elle luy donne le soufflet et apres le baise (V).

The least dramatic and most mechanical of these pastorals is *LA JUSTICE D'AMOUR* by Borée, published with his *Princes victorieux*

(1) The use of color in this play is noteworthy. The ox is described as *rougeastre* (II, 1). The magician is given a *habit rous* and is said to have flown off on a *nuage pers*.

(2) Paris, Jean Corrozet, 1626, 8°. The edition is dedicated to baron d'Arros and includes a number of poems, one of them a plea to the king in regard to the exile of Théophile. For the author, cf. below, in chapter IX, the discussion of his *Cartel*.

(3) Cf. Marsan, *op. cit.*, p. 351. Nicot, in order to separate Carline and Palot, persuades Lysete, who loves Palot, to kiss him while he sleeps. He brings Carline to a place where she can see them together without perceiving that Nicot is asleep. Concluding that her lover is faithless, Carline contemplates suicide, as does Palot when he finds that she has given him up. A benevolent woodland creature, Silvain, who denies being a satyr and is half-brother to the hero, pretends that Carline and Palot are dead and thus persuades Nicot to transfer his affections to Lysete. Explanations are made and both couples marry. For similar situations cf. above, the discussion of *Sylvie*.

at Lyons by Vincent de Cœursilly in 1627 and dedicated to Marie de Bourbon, princesse de Carignan. M. Marsan¹ believes that it is derived from the *Clorinde* of Piérard Poulet, in which a shepherdess, saved by a lover she had repelled, gives up for him one she had preferred. Probably similar situations could be found elsewhere. The plot is not without analogy to that of the *Précieuses ridicules*, though the author shows no understanding of dramatic composition. Four shepherdesses accept four shepherds from Arcadia as their lovers and reject four from Armenia, whom they find *grossiers*, but, when four satyrs put the Arcadians to flight and carry off the girls to a cavern, the latter are rescued by the Armenians, to whom they now promise marriage. No attempt is made to differentiate the individuals in each set of four except that they are given different names. They pair off without the slightest difficulty. The dialogue is without interest. An entirely superfluous fifth act is added, in which Cupid, Hymen, and the girls' relatives take part. The only lines worth quoting are those of a song, sung by an oxherd, brother of the heroines (V, 1) :

Je m'en vay faire l'amour
A la belle Ianette,
Esperant que quelque iour
Je la tiendray seulette.
Fy, fy, fy, de ces hargneux,
Qui font tant les dedaigneux.

The plays previously discussed in this section are primarily pastorals, with comic elements of greater or less significance. We come now to CARITE², a play that, though called a *tragicomédie pastorale*, might equally well be classified as a comedy, disguised, like most of its characters, in pastoral costume. The leading men and women are no longer shepherds and shepherdesses, but courtiers who have taken to country life. Weary of the court, where three of her lovers have recently died, Carite prepares to go with her friend, Filine, and live among the shepherds. The two girls resemble, respectively, the two friends of the *Misanthrope*, Célimène and Eliante. Other characters are the intriguing *suivante*, described as the "brave Rosalie," whose name does not suggest the pastoral and whose mind is described as "subtil, adroit, plein de malice;" the hero, Florestan, who has nothing about him of the diffident pastoral lover,

(1) *Op. cit.* p. 337.

(2) Paris, Toussaint du Bray, 1627, 8°; *priv.*, June 2, 1626. It is anonymous. There is a copy at the Arsenal, B. L. 11369.

but represents to a certain extent the type later made famous by Alceste ; the obliging Larsidan ; the wealthy Damon, to whom is attributed an " *humeur violente et colere.* " On the other hand, certain pastoral characters are retained, an echo, a satyr, a mad lover and his brother's ghost, who comes to warn him against Carite, a hermit, and Amour, who descends from Heaven to unite three pairs of lovers. These persons are not, however, essential to the play and could be readily omitted. References to nature are remarkably scarce. M. Marsan notes some resemblance between the initial situation of Carite and that of the heroine of Troterel's *Amour triomphant*, declares that Rosalie and Larsidan " *tiennent, avec plus d'élégance, l'emploi des grands valets du répertoire,* " and points out several comic passages : the lively verses of the first monologue,

Je croyais que le iour ne paroïssoit au monde
Que pour faire éclater l'or de ma tresse blonde,

the lovers' quarrel and reconciliation at the end of the play, and the manner in which Rosalie encourages and deceives each of Carite's lovers ¹. He might have called attention, too, to Larsidan's comic declaration (I) :

Soyez-donc fauorable à vn amour si fort,
Qu'il durera tousiours iusqu'à ce qu'il soit mort ;

and to the controversy between Rosalie and Filine (III) :

Rosalie : Peu de chose me tient que ie ne vous souflette.
Filine : Je vous rompray la teste avecques ma houlette.

There are also the conventional and farcical scenes connected with the satyr (II and IV), in which he boasts of his beauty and Rosalie escapes from him, first by sending him to wash and tying his foot while he is doing so, then by the intervention of Florestan. In the last act Florestan says of Carite, as Alceste might have said of Célimène :

Son espirt deceuant aux lois de son empire,
Autant comme elle peut d'amoureux elle attire,
Et enfin Charlatane vn chacun deceuant
Rend celuy plus deceu qui s'y met plus auant,
Et pour vous tesmoigner sa finesse et sa ruse,
Afin que vous, ny moy, desormais ne s'abuse,

(1) *Op. cit.*, pp. 341, 352.

Je te diray par qui, en quel lieu, et comment
Ton amour se traicta dès le commencement.

Subsequently Florestan apologizes to his indignant sweetheart :

Cét esprit suborneur excitant ma colere
Me tira des discours que ie ne deus pas faire.

Carite forgives him readily enough, for he is the only one of her lovers she is interested in. All the men are now provided with mates except Damon, who is referred to the satyr, a rather dubious jest. But, in spite of a few such departures from the proprieties, the rural setting, the lack of plot and of division into scenes, and the retention of certain pastoral elements, the play shows by its style and its characters, especially those of the flirt and the man who, while loving her, retains the right to criticize her, that the type of comedy soon to be written by Corneille would not constitute a violent departure from what had gone before. A few eliminations and a few corrections of the versification would give it the style that was soon to characterize French comedy. More than any other play it justifies M. Marsan's theory of the influence of the pastoral upon comedy.

La Morelle tells us that he published his *ENDYMION OU LE RAVISSEMENT*, a *tragi-comédie pastorale*¹, only because his friends wanted more copies than he could otherwise supply. Apart from the title and the tradition that Diana loved the mortal, Endymion, the play owes nothing to ancient mythology. The motif that Diana had a rival and the metamorphosis of a second couple was probably suggested by Gombauld's novel, also called *Endymion*, which had appeared in 1624. Indeed, the latter work may have given La Morelle the original suggestion for his play, but, if it did, he treated Gombauld's material with great freedom, adding the theme of incest, perhaps from the story of Apollonius, the rescue of the girl by her lover, the rôle of the magician, and the intervention of Cupid from the general pastoral tradition, besides inventions of his own². The

(1) Paris, Henry Sara, 1627, 8°, dedicated to the duchesse d'Orléans. There is a copy at the Arsenal, B. L. 10829.

(2) Phylidon and Roselle, the chief characters of the play, are separated by the fact that her father is in love with her and consequently refuses to allow her to marry (I, 1, 2, II, 5). She is saved from incest by two shepherds, who carry her off with evil intent, but she is rescued and the shepherds are mortally wounded by Phylidon (I, 3, II, 1-3). Before their death they take refuge with a magician, whose sympathy they win and who, after their death, throws a spell upon the lovers, turning the hero into a tree, the heroine into a rock (II, 4, III). At last Diana enters and restores Phylidon to human form, then she tells Endymion how to restore Roselle, but the result is disastrous, for Endymion and Roselle seem to prefer each other to Diana and Phylidon and the two couples attack each other with darts (IV, V, 1-3). Cupid now intervenes, forces each of the contestants to return to his old love, and prevails upon Roselle's father to agree to her marriage.

structure is very loose, for the play consists of four successive episodes, only slightly connected, and the intervention of a *deux ex machina*. It is more complex and less unified than the plays we have been discussing, occasionally incorrect in versification, and at times indecent without much compensating wit. It is, at least in part, a somber play, involving incest, *enlèvement*, murder, and magic. A little comic relief is furnished by a game of blind man's buff and this couplet (IV, 3) :

Desia le Cocq, horloge de village,
A bien sonné sept heures en son langage ¹.

Of yet feeblér merit is the so-called comedy by Thullin, entitled *LA PRODIGIEUSE RECOGNOISSANCE DE DAPHNIS ET DE CLORIS, LEURS AMOURS, ADVENTURES, ET LEUR MARIAGE* ², which appeared with a dedication "aux beaux esprits de ce temps," to whom the author describes the play as "les fruits de ma jeunesse." And well he might, for it is principally remarkable for its author's ignorance. The childish plot ³, full of absurdities and unexplained situations, is treated without the least skill. There are only four acts. The mute *e* is frequently not counted as a syllable before a consonant ⁴. A number of half lines are sprinkled among the alexandrines, apparently at random. I find, for instance (II, 1) :

Quels malheurs, quelles traverses vous ont sans mercy
Outragez de la sorte,
Je le veux bien Daphnis, car cela ne m'importe.

Such carelessness in the elementary principles of verse-making is the more astonishing because in 1627 Bazire d'Amblainville brought out a new edition of his pastoral, formerly called *Lycoris* and the

(1) Cf. below, the discussion of Scudéry's *Trompeur puny*.

(2) Paris, Jean Bessin, 8°. An interesting form of the word *hiéroglyphique* occurs in I, 2, where it is stated that the hero has on his stomach a "beau soleil comme quiroglyphique".

(3) The daughter of one king and the son of another are lost in infancy, carried across the sea, each in a cradle, to the same land, where they are picked up by shepherds, who rear them without letting the neighbors know what mystery is connected with their origin. They, of course, soon fall in love, but their foster-fathers forbid their marriage, each on the ground that his ward is too noble for such an alliance. The girl is even promised to a certain Cleon, who, to dispose of his rival, calls attention to the fact that it is against the law of the land for a man under 30 and a girl under 20 to marry and argues that the lovers are already breaking this law, at least in spirit, a fact that would explain why pestilence is raging. The young people are arrested and led to the pyre where they are to be sacrificed, but they are recognized in the nick of time by their parents, who are then ordered by an oracle to marry them. It is proposed to punish Cleon in their place, but we never learn whether this is done or not.

(4) Cf. Marsan, *op. cit.*, p. 368.

Berger inconnu, now *LA PRINCESSE OU L'HEUREUSE BERGÈRE* ¹, with minute attention paid to every detail of versification. I have already stated that the chief changes were made between the first and second forms of the play, but Bazire was not altogether satisfied with them. He again changes his title and dedicates the play in its new form to the Queen of England, who had married Charles I only two years before and whose acting in a French pastoral was referred to at the beginning of this chapter. In his dedication he refers with admiration to Sidney's *Arcadia*. "Ceste Arcadie que la Comtesse de Pembrok y ² a tant heureusement transportee." One of the changes that he makes in his prefatory poem is to substitute

Ià l'Etoile au Berger au Ciel estoit paruë :
Et des champs le Berger ramenoit sa charuë

for the couplet :

Le Bouvier détachoit la pénible charuë
Du col de ses Toreaux au milieu de la ruë,

but this is done only because almost the same couplet as the latter occurs in I, 3 ³. I have already cited the changes he made in I, 2. In the following scene he adds an introductory conversation, which prepares the spectator for the telling of Hylas's story. This tale he retains as he had given it in 1621, including these harmonious and picturesque lines :

Et sur le point que l'Aurore conduit
Comme vn troupeau deuant soy les Estoiles,
Nous nous trouuons pres la mer porte-voiles,
Dont le flot pers par les vents s'animant,
Venoit se rompre au riuage écumant ⁴.

In the second act he adds a reference to Phèdre, makes a minor alteration in the fourth scene, lengthens and changes the meter of

(1) Rouen, Claude le Villain. Cf. above, pp. 209, 210.

(2) That is, to England. The title of the novel seems to have made Bazire believe that the Countess of Pembroke had written it.

(3) Et le Bouvier détachoit la charuë
De sur le col de son Toreau qui suë.

Note that he prefers the vivid *qui suë*, though in doing so, he loses a rich rhyme.

(4) I, 3. Note, too, the effective use he makes of the sea in III, 7, when the heroine has let the satyr slip over the cliff :

Va dans la mer pour y noyer tes feux.
Satyre : Ha ie suis mort.
Lycoris : Comme la mer resonance !

his chorus. In the third act he adds an elegiac passage to his first scene and gives in the third scene an interesting example of the lyric monologue. I have shown that this form existed as early as 1610, but it is beginning with 1627 that its use becomes fairly frequent. The corresponding passage of Bazire's *Berger inconnu* (1621) had been written in regular ten-syllable lines, which he now alters to *stances*, the first of which runs as follows :

Deserts affreux, demeures solitaires,
Eaux, cauernes, et bois !
De mes ennuis soyez les secretaires
Pour la dernière fois
Et témoignez par tous les coings du monde,
Combien ma peine et douleur est profonde.

He interchanges the fifth and sixth scenes of this act and divides IV, 4 into two scenes out of respect for the rule that the scene should change with the actors. He improves his play by giving to another character in V, 4 lines formerly assigned to an anonymous messenger. The chorus at the end of the fourth act had criticized the indifference of the great to poets. Bazire keeps the same rime scheme, but gives variety to his verse by substituting two lines of ten syllables for the last two eight-syllable verses :

C'est vne faute bien connuë,
Et qu'Apollon void de trauers,
Qu'un Poëte aille la teste nuë
A quelque Prince, offrir ses vers,
Qui ne vid onc les Muses de la sorte,
Et qui ne sçait que c'est que l'on luy porte.

I have discussed these changes at some length in order to show with what care Bazire continued to revise his play and to what extent the reforms of Malherbe and Racan were being applied by a playwright before the introduction of the unities. A few other passages are of interest as showing Bazire's unfavorable attitude towards women, which seem especially out of place now that the play is dedicated to a queen. It may be said, however, in his defense that the remarks are put into the mouths of minor persons, whose views we are not asked to accept. The satyr, for instance, uses a curious bit of folk-lore from Pliny or Pomponius Mela ¹ to give point

(1) The Elder Pliny, VIII, 32, 77, writes of the Central African catoblepas : " caput tantum praegrave aegre ferens : id deiectum semper in terram ; alias internicio humani generis, omnibus qui oculos eius videre confestim expirantibus. " Much the same information about this beast, which is supposed to be the gnu, is given

to the expression of his antipathy to the sex. His speech runs as follows in the *Princesse*, IV, 3 :

La Catoblepe, aux Negres trop connuë
Tant de venin recelle dans sa veuë,
Que son regard peut donner le trespas.
Aussi Nature a penché contre bas
Sa lourde teste, et non haut redressee,
Car nostre race en eust esté blessee
Mais son courage eust esté plus benin
Si nous cachant le sexe feminin,
Jamais à nous n'eust parut [*sic*] ce visage.

Arcadin, the oxherd, is given for the first time the following lines (V, 3) :

On dit pourtant, et i'en croy le discours,
Qu'au mariage on n'a que deux bon [*sic*] iours :
Le reste estant plein de trouble et de guerre,
Quand on prend femme, et qu'on la porte en terre ¹.

At the end of the play, after Thyrsis's strophes in praise of love, the same Arcadin gives a final comic touch by declaring that the shepherds who are marrying will soon be unhappy enough and that he desires no woman living.

V. — Comedy

The very considerable comic element in the pastoral has just been pointed out. On the other hand, Thullin's so-called comedy has so many elements of pastoral and so few of comedy that it has been placed in the preceding section. Nor do I discuss here any of the three plays listed below, for they belong to a much earlier period :

1. Charles Maupas, *les Desguisez*, Blois, Gauché Collas, 1626. This is an early example of a text-book for the study of French by foreigners. It is dedicated by the author "a tous seigneurs et gentils-hommes estrangers amateurs de la langue Françoisé," and is no other than the *Contents* of Odet de Turnèbe (pub. 1584), which both the editor and his father had used "pour la bailler à lire a ceux qui ne sont encor trop aduancez pour l'intelligence d'une matiere plus serieuse et ardüe." Maupas explains that his pupils like the book and that,

by Mela, III, 9, 98. It also figures in Rabelais, *Quint Livre*, Ch. XXIX, and in Pulci's *Morgante Maggiore*, XXV, 314 ; in the latter case the creature is classified as a serpent.

(1) The same jest is found in Hipponax, Frag. 28, and in Du Ryer's *Vendanges*, II, 5.

as he had only one copy, he has published this new edition to save them the labor of further copying. He adds a glossary of some interest.

2. *Farce nouvelle du Musnier et du Gentil-homme à quatre personnages*, Troyes, Nicolas Oudot, 1628. Petit de Julleville¹ was quite justified in holding that this dramatization of an ancient tale, found already in the *Orlandino* of Folengo (pub. 1526), is far older than the date of its publication.

3. The *Colloque de l'origine et naturel des femmes*, printed in the *Formulaire récréatif de tous contrats*, Lyons, Chastellard, 1627, had already appeared in an edition of Lyons, Jean-Baptiste Gros, in 1603².

The elimination of these plays leaves only one comedy to be discussed, but one that possesses unusual interest. It is LA SUPERCHERIE D'AMOUR³, by le sieur de Ch., published at Paris by Guillaume Citerne in 1627, 8°. Written in prose, the play continues the traditions of Renaissance comedy somewhat after the manner of Troterel. It is discussed neither by Toldo nor Lintilhac. M. Marsan⁴ calls it a strange mixture of pastoral and tragi-comedy and suggests the influence of Racan's *Bergeries* on the monastic episode. But it is primarily a comedy, although the woodland setting of much of the play and the idea of retiring from the world are due to pastoral influence, the duel to that of the tragi-comedy⁵. The comic situations are created chiefly by four valets, all witty and indecent in their speech, a *miles gloriosus*, and his wife. There are many jests and allusions to manners and customs of the day. Leondraste has nothing heroic about him. He is afraid of his rivals, employs his servant to spy upon them, and takes advantage of the girl by disguising himself as his rival. He is far from the typical hero of tragi-comedy or pastoral. Both the other lovers are brave and have distinguished themselves in war, but one plays a very minor rôle

(1) *Répertoire du théâtre comique au moyen âge*, Paris, Cerf, 1888, p. 179.

(2) There is a copy at the Bib. Nat., Rés. y² 2724.

(3) There is a MS. copy of the printed play at the Bib. Nat., ms. fr. 9306.

(4) *Op. cit.*, pp. 347, 369.

(5) Leondraste, Philidamor, and Lizante are in love with Almerinde, daughter of Guildogodart. Philidamor disposes of Lizante by killing him in a duel, but is so much moved by his deed that, although he has won the girl's affections, he renounces love, puts on a hermit's garb, and retires to a forest hermitage. Learning that Almerinde is coming to visit him there, he allows Leondraste to take his place. The latter gives the girl a rendez-vous in a cave, where he seduces her. When her father learns that she is pregnant, he demands that Philidamor be put to death and has him brought before a judge, who is the father of Leondraste. Philidamor is condemned to marry or die, but he prefers death, since he has taken a vow of celibacy and is not the seducer of the girl. Fortunately a valet reveals the true state of the case, Leondraste is quite willing to marry Almerinde, and she accepts the situation philosophically, explaining that, " puis qu'il a commencé la chose, j'aime autant qu'il l'acheve qu'un autre. "

and the other's conscience drives him to give up the heroine. The latter lover is the only person whose character seems out of keeping with the comic atmosphere of the play. The girl's father is the usual comic type of old man. His friend the judge is less conventional. From a modern point of view he is quite dishonest, willing to tamper with witnesses and bribing the heroine's father with "un estat de Tresorier de France." The characters of the four valets are not clearly differentiated. The braggart soldier, Botomorphoso, is probably meant to have all the characteristics of the type, except that he is married and is not clearly shown to be a coward, although we are led to suppose that he is one. He is a Spaniard, refers to Don Quixote¹, and has for wife a woman named Almarchilde. He even bursts into his native tongue when he runs across the latter, saying "Valmedios esta Donzella en² la mia mouges³" (V, 3).

The comic devices include overheard conversations, disguise, proposals of marriage, a mock duel, bragging, and numerous observations about eating, drinking, thieving, blows, and immorality. There are also plays on words and direct allusions to the audience. From one of these we learn that the play was written to be acted at the Hôtel de Bourgogne. In I, 2, a valet, Brodevin, consents to remain "jusques à la fin de la Commedie." In II, 2, the same man remarks, "je suis bien trompé si nous ne jouons une Comedie à l'Hostel de Bourgogne." In III, 4, he says, "despechez vous vistement, car Mademoiselle Almerinde est derriere ceste tapisserie, qui n'attend que l'heure de sortir lors que vous serez entré." He leaves the stage with his master and reappears before the end of the scene, leading the same Almerinde. Finally, in IV, 4, he alludes directly to the audience by saying, "hola, ho, Monsieur ne mangez pas tout ; ha que voila forces [*sic*] drolles au ventre vuide qui voudroient bien estre en ma place."

Such allusions to the audience were subsequently made by Molière. Another way in which the author of this play resembles his great successor is in his manner of preventing a situation from becoming tragic by adding comic byplay. This is especially noticeable in II, 1, when the duel that results in the death of Lizante is accompanied by a comic imitation of it by the lovers' valets, both of whom are afraid to fight. They mark off a line with the obser-

(1) IV, 2. He cries : " je jure par la vailleur de mon ayeul Don-Quixote de la Manche ; que d'un moulinet je fendray le ciel, et la terre en deux comme deux moietiez de pommes cuites. "

(2) Es.

(3) Mujer.

vation, " et n'aye pas peur que je la passe. " Then one threatens the other with " oste ton bonnet de là, car je te veux donner au sixiesme bouton, " and the other replies, " alonge fort, et n'aye pas peur que je recule davantage. " Similarly the somberness of the scene (II, 2) in which the dead body of Lizante is found is counter-balanced by the jests of the frightened valets, one of whom concludes that " mon maistre est plus mort que nous autres, car il ne parle pas. " Brodevin takes Guildogodart for Lizante's ghost and, when he is recognized, takes part in the following dialogue :

Brodevin : Ouy Monsieur, mais je suis mort.

Guildogodart : Ha le maraut il est mort dit-il.

Brodevin : Ouy Monsieur, et si vous ne me voulez croire voilà mon passe-
port.

Guildogodart : Voyons cecy *Songe à la mort, et à ce que tu peux devenir* ¹...

Brodevin : Regarde moy un peu aux plantes des pieds je te prie.

Argolu : Comment, as-tu peur d'être blessé par là ?

Brodevin : Je croy bien, Achile qui estoit plus grand Capitaine que moy
mourut bien par un tel endroit.

Botomorphoso is introduced purely for comic effect. First we see him leaving Spain with his starving wife to get supplies in France. When his valet, Tondril, like Sancho, asks for food, he tells him that he is not like the Spanish nobleman who passes three days without eating or drinking during a siege, to which Tondril replies, " Monsieur, j'aime mieux disner et n'estre point tant noble " (III, 3). They enter an inn, feast, and leave without paying, but the valet is caught and is allowed to work out his part of the debt after he has explained that he is not a Spaniard, but the son of a *cabaretier* of Orléans. Soon after Botomorphoso meets his wife with two peasants, but, as she is dressed in a French costume, he does not recognize her. She declares that the peasants have beaten her and that one of them is jealous of the other because the latter has spent the night with her. The Spaniard obliges the peasants to ask pardon, takes their wallets with the bread, wine, ham, and fruit he finds in them, and marches them off to the court-house. When one of them cries, " Hé qu'est-ce que diront nos femmes " (IV, 2), he replies, " Ho, ho, et vous n'y songiez pas il n'y a qu'un moment, marchez canailles, cependant Madame et moy irons tout doucement apres. " They reach the courtroom just after the wedding of Almerinde has been arranged. The judge condemns the peasants to go home and leave the lady to

(1) A sentence inscribed on the dead man's robe.

her rescuer. She now makes herself known to him and he agrees to take her back, despite the jests hurled at him by Brodevin.

In addition to these and other comic situations, the author uses expressions appropriate to comedy, such as *adieu seas*, found in Rabelais, ¹ and "pere tout craché", "pliez bagage", "le bât te blessoit", which were to be employed by Molière ². There are puns on the name Brodevin, on *main propre* ³, on the word *retrancher* (IV, 1), which the master uses in the sense of limiting the larder, the valet in that of cutting another slice. The solemnity of judicial language is made ridiculous when the judge makes his decision (V, 3):

Veu l'exces commis par Charles Philidamor envers la personne de Françoise Almerinde pour l'avoir defloree et engrossee, Nous le condamnons d'avoir la teste tranchée, sauf la grace que nous luy faisons s'il l'épouse.

As for allusions to manners and customs, we may note references to *mardi gras* (I, 2), to the four suits ⁴ of playing-cards (III, 3), to *pistoles*, *iacobus d'Angleterre*, etc., to a beaver hat that cost "sept escus moins six blancs sans cordon à la galerie du Palais" (III, 2), to the coach to Fontainebleau and a tavern kept by a certain Cormier (I, 1). We learn that you can gamble for a supper there at 4 *pistoles* a head and that a *septier* of wheat costs 18 livres (III, 3). Germans are accused of being heavy drinkers, Spaniards of bragging, and Italians of homosexuality (I, 1), which fact seems to indicate that the source of the play is not Italian. The king referred to must be Louis XIII, for he is "plus jeune, plus gaillard, plus robuste, a de meilleurs chevaux que vous" (IV, 1). There are allusions to the custom of having one's second search the pockets of one's opponent in a duel before the fighting begins (II, 1), to the marking of criminals with the *fleur de lis*, and to hanging men in the fields (I, 1). Leon-draste's valet, Criquet, fears lest (I, 1)

on ne me prenne pour quelqu'un de ces oiseaux qui volent sans plumes, et puis qu'on ne me fasse patriarche ⁵ des champs sur le chemin de Gascogne, pour donner la benediction avec les pieds aux Pelerins qui vont à Saint Jacques.

(1) *Gargantua*, Ch. XXXIII; cf. Sainéan, *La Langue de Rabelais*, Paris, Boccard, 1922-1923, II, 188.

(2) They are found in I, 2; cf. *Médecin malgré lui*, I, 5; *Misanthrope*, IV, 4; *Sganarelle*, sc. 1.

(3) II, 3: "que je te prie de donner à ton Maistre en main propre." "Et s'il les a salles, comme feray-je."

(4) *Trèfles*, clubs, is replaced by *fleurs*; cf. below, note on *Doranise*.

(5) Cf. the expression *évêque des champs*, cited by Huguot, *Dictionnaire de la langue française du XVI^e siècle*, Paris, Champion, 1926, p. xix, and used, as here, in the sense of a man left hanging from a gallows.

It is strange that this play, in spite of its spirited dialogue, its wit, and its entertaining allusions, should have had so little influence and been so soon forgotten. This is probably due to the fact that its indecency was too great and its characters too exaggerated for the new generation. Hence it remained an almost isolated attempt to continue in the second quarter of the century the kind of comedy that had flourished in the sixteenth century and been imitated in the *Corrivaux* of Troterel. The kind of comedy that was soon to replace this earlier type is less amusing, but in better taste and closer to the speech and experiences of cultivated persons.

CHAPTER VI

THE NEW GENERATION. DU RYER, ROTROU, ETC. PLAYS OF 1628 AND 1629

I. — General Characteristics

Two facts of considerable importance mark the end of these years. The Hôtel de Bourgogne acquires permanent tenants and Richelieu begins to interest himself in dramatic performances. The Comédiens du Roi rented the famous theater from Dec. 28, 1627, until nearly the end of Lent, 1628, from May 28 to July 2 of the latter year, and from Oct. 1 to Jan. 1, 1629¹. On March 7, 1629, legal action was taken to oblige them to pay a month's rent of the Hôtel, but they leased it again from June 10 to Sept. 30. On July 9 it was rented to the actors of the Prince d'Orange, probably for a term in the fall. On Dec. 29 the Comédiens du Roi took out a lease for three years, which was renewed in 1632, 1635, and 1638, so that their continuous occupation of the Hôtel may be said to date from the end of 1629². Bassompierre³ relates that almost at the same time Richelieu, just before his departure for Casal, which took place on Dec. 29, "fit un superbe festin au Roi et aux Reines, avec comédies, ballets et musiques excellentes." With a permanently established troupe and the prospect of encouragement from the government, it is not surprising that the career of a playwright should attract a good many young men, but, as a matter of fact, this attraction had been felt before 1629 by men of the new generation, who had sent ahead of them Jean Mairet.

They had been brought up on the *Astrée* and other pastoral and

(1) Fransen, *R. H. L.*, XXXIV (1927), 355.

(2) *Ibid.*, and Soulié, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-165. Another troupe was in Poitou in June, 1628, and Sept., 1629; cf. Clouzot, *op. cit.*, pp. 98, 335, 336. As we shall see, the troupe of Montdory and Lenoir probably did not become regularly established at Paris until the year 1630.

(3) *Op. cit.*, p. 308.

romantic novels, they had used their knowledge of Latin to read stories of adventure both ancient and modern, they were ready to make use of Spanish models as well as of Italian, they had learned from Malherbe that the style of the sixteenth century was antiquated, from Théophile and Racan that Hardy was no longer the last word in the writing of plays. In the main they seem to have followed the example of their brilliant contemporary, Mairet, and, as he had devoted himself to two genres, the tragi-comedy and the *tragi-comédie pastorale*, they did the same, to the neglect of tragedy and of comedy. His sources, the *Astrée* and the Italo-French pastoral, will be among theirs, and many of his themes will find an echo in them. Young dramatists appear for the first time to be uniting into what may be called a *cénacle*. The controversy that beclouded Hardy's later years has shown us that Du Ryer, Auvray, and their friends were regarded by him as forming a distinct circle of writers that met in a tavern ¹. If we may draw conclusions from poems written for one another's plays, the group included Pichou, Rayssiguier, Mareschal, Frénicle, Rotrou, and Guillaume Colletet ². They made a united attack upon Hardy and seem to have triumphed without great difficulty. They found encouragement from another dramatist of the older generation, Isaac Du Ryer ³, and their victory is acknowledged by Jean de Schelandre, both in the embittered sonnet he addresses to them ⁴ and in the fact that he is obliged to alter his one play in accordance with the tendencies that they were expressing. Hardy must have continued to produce in these years, but, with this exception and that of Schelandre, all the authors seem to be young men writing now for the first time, or men who had begun to write very shortly before 1628. Théophile and d'Urfé are dead. Racan and Troterel are silent. It is perhaps due to the fact that the plays are written almost entirely by beginners that these two years show as many as 25 plays, whereas we found only 17 in the three years that had preceded them. The average output for each year is more than doubled.

These two years mark, moreover, the definite triumph of Paris over the provinces, for, though many of the writers come from other

(1) See above, p. 36.

(2) Cf. introductory verses to Du Ryer's *Argénis et Poliarque* by Colletet, Pichou, Auvray; to his *Argénis* by Colletet, Auvray, and Rayssiguier; to Mareschal's *Généreuse Allemande* by Du Ryer and Rotrou, to Rayssiguier's *Astrée et Céladon* by Du Ryer, and to Du Ryer's translation of *Salvian* by Frénicle. For this last cf. Lachèvre, *Rec. Lib.*, sup., p. 42.

(3) Cf. above, p. 38.

(4) Cf. below, p. 314.

parts of France, the plays are all published at the capital with the exception of a school drama, a political pamphlet in dramatic form, and one tragi-comedy. Among the publishers of plays belonging to these years is Targa, who brought out Mairet's *Sylvie*, the fifth volume of Hardy's collected plays, and all the works of Pichou. Three subsequently celebrated publishers, Courbé, Sommaville, and Quinet made their début in the dramatic world by printing in 1630 and 1631 plays that had been first acted in 1628 or 1629. The interest taken in the theater by leading persons of the kingdom is shown by the fact that two plays are dedicated to the king, one to the queen, two to the king's brother, Gaston d'Orléans, one to his half-brother, the Duke of Vendôme, one to his favorite, the marquis d'Effiat, others to such distinguished patrons as the Duke of Montmorency, the Count of Soissons, La Chastre and his wife, Saint-Simon, the Princess of Guéméné, etc.

The young authors are primarily interested in romantic themes. Seneca and his Greek models, as well as historical and philosophic subjects in general, are entirely overlooked. An anecdote from Plutarch's *Virtues of Women*, a late Greek novel, the story of Niobe with modern variations, and the names of the characters in *Amphytrite* constitute their debt to the ancients. Modern literature is more to their taste, for two extant plays and one that is lost are derived from the *Astrée*, two are reworkings of plays that had appeared earlier in the century; the two *journées* of Du Ryer's *Argénis* are drawn from Barclay's popular Latin novel that had first appeared only a few years before; the traditions of the Italian pastoral are preserved, especially in Du Cros's adaptation of the *Filli di Sciro* and in Frénicle's *Palemon*, while the influence of Spanish literature begins to assume special importance. Before this Hardy had based several plays on Spanish tales, the *Diana* had influenced a few plays, and there had been a few references to *Don Quixote*, but no play had been based directly on a Spanish play, nor had Cervantes's great novel inspired a French dramatist to any considerable extent. Now Pichou takes the plot of his *Folies de Cardénio* from *Don Quixote*, Rotrou adapts a play by Lope, while *l'Infidèle confidente* and *l'Inconstance punie* seem to have a Spanish origin of some sort.

With such sources we may expect to find abundance of romantic material. The lovers meet at dawn, while the birds sing and the flowers display their colors. Winter never comes to cool their ardor, but night gives them opportunity for *enlèvements*, street brawls, or thrilling rescues. Neither poison nor magic is absent. A picture is enough to enrapture a hero over a beautiful maiden he has never

seen. Blood stains the stage and a heroine is brought back to consciousness by the tears of her admirers ! Indeed the years 1628 and 1629 remind us frequently of those romantic plays that Dumas and Hugo were to consider so epoch-making two centuries later. There are, however, a few bits of evidence that the ground was being prepared for the classical reform that was soon to follow. While the proprieties are violated as far as physical violence is concerned, there is little vulgarity in these plays with the exception of *Tyr et Sidon*, which was written by a man who belonged to the older generation. The comic element, present in most tragi-comedies and pastorals, is absent from the one tragedy of the period. Though there is as yet no talk of the three unities, the unity of time is occasionally respected ¹, while a few plays are limited in extent to a comparatively small region ² and do not greatly violate the unity of action ³. The presence of such tendencies, already noticed in Théophile, Racan, and Mairet, explains how the latter was able to accomplish his reform so soon after this period, which, to a superficial investigator, seems one of wild disorder. It should also be noticed that the psychological struggle occurs in an increasing number of plays ⁴ and that the use of the alexandrine as the chief meter ⁵, the division into five acts ⁶, the marking of scenes ⁷, and the elimination of the chorus ⁸ have become almost universal. *Stances*, though not called by this name, nor used to state a problem, are found in six plays. Other variations from the alexandrine couplet occur in letters, songs, responses of oracles, dialogues, and recited poems.

The characters are becoming more and more those that we encounter on the later stage. The principal persons are aristocratic and kings often appear. The gods are eliminated except in *Amphytrite*, *Niobé*, and pastorals in which Cupid and Diana occasionally figure. Magicians are found in six plays ⁹. Madness, which was to be handed

(1) *Niobé*, *Palemon*, Ducros's *Fillis*, and probably *Célinde*.

(2) Especially *Palemon* and *Climène*.

(3) Especially *Climène* and *La Bague de l'oubly*.

(4) *Cardenio*, V, 4 (cf. also II, 2) ; *Infidèle confidente*, II, 1, 3 ; *Madonte*, IV, 5 ; *Arétaphile*, III, 5 ; *Clitophon*, IV, 8 ; *Argénis et Poliarque*, IV, 4 ; *Bélinde*, III, 3 ; *Inconstance punie*, II, 1 ; *Tyr et Sidon*, 1 j., I, 5, II, 6, III, 1 ; Ducros's *Fillis*, II, 2, 3.

(5) *Célinde* is chiefly in prose, but the play within the play is written in alexandrines. The rime scheme of *l'Inconstance punie* varies from scene to scene, but the prevailing meter is the alexandrine.

(6) The only exception is *la Rocheloise*, which is divided into four.

(7) This is, of course, a question of printing. Scenes are marked, but not numbered in *Richecourt*.

(8) Except in *Richecourt* and *Palemon*.

(9) *Hypocondriaque*, *Bélinde*, *Omphalle*, *Climène*, *Cléonice*, *Bague de l'oubly*.

down to Corneille and Racine, continues to flourish¹. The *nourrice* occurs only in *Cardénio*, *l'Hypocondriaque*, and *Tyr et Sidon*. She has become a *gouvernante* in *Madonte* and *Argénis*. The nameless messenger² and the ghost³ have almost disappeared, though the opening monologue, often associated with the latter, is retained in a majority of the plays. Mothers are not infrequent, but, except in *Niobé* and *Célinde*, have unimportant parts.

No work of these two years stands out as had done *Pyrame*, the *Bergeries*, or *Sylvie*, but the average play is better constructed and better written than in previous periods. The generation of young authors often attempted too much and relied on startling and varied incidents rather than a study of character. They are often *précieux*, but seldom pedantic or ridiculous. They have learned in the main the art of preparation and suspense, the manner of appealing to the audience of their day. That many of their productions were successful as acting plays is shown by the fact that ten of them were still in the repertory of the Hôtel de Bourgogne in 1633-1634, when they were listed in the *Mémoire de Mahelot*, and that several of the authors were to continue to write for the stage for many years and hold an important place in the group that established in France the classical system.

II. — Tragedy

M. Lanson cites a lost tragedy played at Pont-à-Mousson on the subject of Saint Sebastian⁴. On Sept. 13, 1629, a tragedy entitled *Hérodes ou l'ambition trop insolente punie en la personne d'Hérodes, roy des Juifs* was given by the pupils of a school at Mons⁵. The only other representative of the genre is Nicolas Frénicle's⁶ play,

(1) *Cardénio*, *Argénis*, *Hypocondriaque*, *Climène*, *Philine*, *Cléonice*, *Bague de l'oubly*.

(2) *Tyr et Sidon* and *Bélinde*.

(3) *Omphalle* and *Cléonice*.

(4) *Op. cit.*, X, 231.

(5) Faber, *op. cit.*, I, 41.

(6) Born at Paris of a noble family in 1600, Frénicle seems to have enjoyed a gay youth, which led him to be prosecuted in 1623, along with Théophile, Colletet, and Berthelot, for contributing to the *Parnasse satyrique*. The charges made against him were not pushed, however, and he soon settled down, married, and acquired the position held by his father-in-law of "conseiller général à la Cour de Monnaies". He then added a tragedy and two pastorals to his lyric and elegiac poems. Subsequently he composed religious narrative poems. M. Lachèvre's statement that *Niobé* was never acted is not supported by any evidence that I can discover. For further information about Frénicle cf. Moréri, *Dictionnaire*, sup., edition of 1735; Goujet, XVII, 23-34; Toinet, *Essai d'une liste alphabétique des auteurs qui ont écrit en vers français de 1600 à 1715*, Tulle, 1913, p. 74; Lachèvre, *Bib. Rec. and Rec. Lib.*

LA FIN TRAGIQUE DE NIOBÉ ET LES AMOURS DE SON FILS TANTALE ET D'ÉRIPHILE, published at Paris by Jacques Dugast in 1632, 8°, but with a *privilege* of Jan. 29, 1629. This tragedy is a strange mixture of old and new characteristics. The unhappy ending is not surprising, but contrasts with that of all other plays of these two years. The chorus is retained and the main theme is thoroughly classical, furnishing a tragedy in the Aristotelian sense, with a heroine who sins through pride and is punished more than she deserves. A ghost and a fury are introduced. As in sixteenth century tragedy, lamentation is substituted for physical or mental activity. On the other hand, the language is that of the seventeenth century, almost of Malherbe ¹, the unity of time is carefully observed, the place does not greatly exceed the limits of the city of Thebes, and the episode of Tantale and Ériphile reminds one of contemporary tragi-comedies.

The fatal deed takes place in the second act when Niobe, after boasting of her 7 sons and 7 daughters, causes herself to be worshipped by the Theban women instead of Latona. In the next act the latter appeals to her two divine children, who promise vengeance. Niobe's sons are killed behind the scenes, though their bodies may be displayed, for she gives this order (IV, 1) :

Détournons ce tapis dont leurs corps sont couuers
Et qu'encore vne fois ie les voye à l'enuers
Couchez dessus la terre.

Niobe remains unrepentant, though her husband kills himself in the vain hope that his death may satisfy the gods. Even the death of her daughters does not bring her to her knees. When they have been killed by Diana behind the scenes, their mother orders them placed in a tomb with her own image. Then Mègère comes with a scourge and beats Niobe to death. This ending is not in Ovid, from whose *Metamorphoses*, VI, 155 ff., the rest of the main plot is derived. A subordinate plot is added to fill out the five acts. It may have

(1) Cf. III, 3 :

Et la mort d'une force égale
Attaque une maison Royale,
Et les cabanes des pasteurs

with Malherbe (poem no. 11) :

La mort a des rigueurs...
Le pauvre en sa cabane, où le chaume le couvre,
Est sujet à ses lois ;
Et la garde qui veille aux barrières du Louvre
N'en défend point nos Rois.

been suggested by Mairêt's *Sylvie*, in which a prince loves a shepherdess. Tantale, one of Niobe's sons, meets Ériphile at dawn and promises to marry her next day. Her father cautiously objects to the match as the fathers had done in *Sylvie* and Troterel's *Philistée*, for (III, 2)

La moyenne fortune est la plus assurée.

She finally wins him over, but to no purpose, for Tantale dies with his brothers, and when Ériphile visits the tomb, his ghost appears to her, tells her how he died, and leaves her to kill herself.

Niobe might have been made into a dramatic figure, a forerunner of Corneille's wilful heroines, but Frénicle had no dramatic gift. He makes no effort to account for his heroine's pride and obstinacy. She is not seen on the stage with either husband or children. Indeed her daughters never appear at all and only two of the sons, in scenes that have little to do with the main action. The play is less dramatic than *Pyrame* or even than the tragedies of Hardy. Its only significance lies in the evidence it gives that the new generation still takes some interest in mythology, which was to prove, a few years later, an important source for the revival of tragedy in the hands of Rotrou, La Pinelière, and Corneille. That the play was not entirely forgotten in 1652 is suggested by the mention of a book called *Niobé* in Berthod's *Ville de Paris en vers burlesques* of that year ¹.

III. — Tragi-comedy

For the first time in the history of the French stage tragi-comedy becomes the leading *genre*. Its success in the years 1628-1629 is due primarily to Pichou, Du Ryer, and Rotrou, to a lesser extent to Auvray and Mareschal. Other authors who contributed tragi-comedies are Jean de Schelandre, who rewrites in two *journées* his *Tyr et Sidon* and gives it a happy ending in order that it may be so classified, "S. B.", Dom Simplicien Gody, Rampale, Grandchamp, and La Croix. Among the leaders, Pichou and Rotrou turn for inspiration to Spain, Du Ryer to fiction written in Greek or Latin. The first of these authors to be considered is Pichou. Almost all of our information about him is derived from his published works, more particularly from his friend Isnard's preface to his *Filis de Scire*. He was born at Dijon, studied with the Jesuits at the Collège

(1) Cf. Marty-Laveaux, *Œuvres de P. Corneille*, II, 6.

Godran there, where he excelled in his imitation of the Latin poets. He was protected by Henri II, Prince de Condé, wrote four plays, several patriotic poems, a drinking song, *Stances sur la mort de Théophile*, and was assassinated at the end of 1630 or early in 1631. We know that his plays were written in the following order: *Cardénio*, *Rosiléon*, *Infidèle confidente*, *Filis de Scire*, that the first and a fragment of the third were published in 1629, the third and fourth in 1631, while the second is lost. It seems probable that *Cardénio* was first acted about 1628, *Rosiléon* in 1628 or 1629, *l'Infidèle Confidente* in 1629, and *la Filis de Scire* in 1630. All three of the extant plays are in the repertories both of Mahelot and of Scudéry's *Comédie des comédiens*. A reference to

Les desseins de Hardy, de Beys ou de Pichou ¹

shows that he was remembered some years after his death. About the year 1656 the abbé Marolles ² names him with six others who won fame immediately after Hardy. Chappuzeau ³ mentions him among those whose plays were in repertories of 1674.

His first play, *LES FOLIES DE CARDÉNIO* ⁴, met with considerable success, if we may judge by the number of editions that appeared in a few years ⁵. The plot is derived from the first part of *Don Quixote*, chaps. 23, 24, 27-32, 36, 37, with allusions to a few incidents described in other parts of the novel ⁶. As in these chapters, the main emphasis of the play is laid on the double romance of Cardenio and Luscinda, Fernando and Dorotea. Don Quixote and Sancho are

(1) Cf. C. Moreau, *Choix de Mazarinades*, Paris, Renouard, 1853, II, 192 and E. Magne, *Gaultier-Garguille*, Paris, Louis-Michaud, p. 47. Cf. below, p. 730.

(2) *Mémoires*, edition of Amsterdam, 1755, III, 273.

(3) *Théâtre françois*, ed. of Paris, Bonnassies, 1876, p. 81.

(4) Republished by Fournier in *Le Théâtre français au XVI^e et au XVII^e siècle*. For its possible influence on Scudéry's *Fils supposé* cf. below, my discussion of that play.

(5) Paris, Targa, 1630, 8° (*priv.*, Aug. 20, 1629; *achevé*, Sept. 12; dedication, Sept. 13); *jouste la copie imprimée à Paris*, 1630, 8° (*Soleinne*, no. 1037); Paris, Targa, 1633, 8° (*Soleinne*, no. 1036); Paris, Marette, 1634, 8° (*Bib. Nat. Yf 4813*). In the edition of Paris, Targa, 1634, 8°, an *extrait du privilège* gives the same day of the month as is given in the full *privilège*, but with the date 1625 instead of 1629, evidently a misprint, as I have shown in *M. L. N.*, 1922, p. 467. This error caused Beauchamps (II, 65) to date the play 1625 and, after him, Rigal, *P. de J.*, IV, 226, Dannheisser, "Zur Geschichte der Einheiten in Frankreich", *Z. F. S. L.*, XIV (1892), 66, and Martinenche, *La Comedia espagnole en France*, Paris, Hachette, 1900, p. 164. Crane in the introduction to his *Jean Rotrou's Saint Genest and Venceslas*, Boston, Ginn, 1907, p. 15, has the play "performed in 1625 and printed in 1629", but there is no evidence for the first date, which is evidently due to the misprint in the *extrait*.

(6) The story of Cardenio had been dramatized by Guillén de Castro in his *Don Quijote de la Manche* (pub. 1618), but Dr. E. J. Crooks has shown that Pichou owed nothing to the latter play; cf. her article in *M. L. N.*, Jan., 1928.

used by Pichou only for comic relief. Instead of a narrative told by two of the characters, he gives us a drama that is acted, at least for the most part. The play begins after Cardenio and Luscinda have fallen in love and after Fernando has tired of Dorotea. It ends with the general reconciliation and the departure of the four lovers from the inn. Minor changes are found. Dorotea and Luscinda now live in the same town, so that Fernando can be attracted to the latter before he gives up the former. Dorotea retires to the Sierra through despair rather than to hide from her parents. The motivation is improved by the facts that Luscinda does not reveal to her lover her plan to kill herself, that we hear her father bid her accept Fernando, and that it is before she faints that Cardenio leaves the room where the marriage is taking place. Certain passages are amplified to add dramatic interest. For instance, the simple statement that Luscinda retired to a convent gives rise to three scenes (II, 4 and III, 2, 3) in which her resolution is both prepared and carried out. Again, her *enlèvement* is prepared by two new scenes (III, 4 and IV, 3). Incidents are added for comic effect, as when the barber is taken for Luscinda by Cardenio (IV, 2) and when Don Quixote is put to flight by Fernando (IV, 7).

The vogue of the pastoral is probably responsible for the length of the monologues spoken by Cardenio and by Dorotea in the forest though the germ of them is already in Cervantes. To the pastoral, too, is due the rôle of the *sacificateur*. Fournier¹ explains that Pichou did not dare represent a priest on the stage, yet a nun appears in this very play, and a priest had appeared not long before in Trotterel's *Gillette*. The fact that he calls the barber's companion a *licencié* rather than a *curé* proves little, since both terms are applied to him by Cervantes. It seems to me that his chief reason for having a *sacificateur* was that he hesitated to represent a Christian marriage, a sacrament, on the stage and that, when he sought for a substitute, he selected the *sacificateur* because one is so often found in pastoral plays.

The beginning of the story is so abbreviated that the relations between Cardenio and Fernando are not explained. We are not told that Fernando is the son of a duke. He is made less of a villain by the omission of his attempt to kill Luscinda and by the fact that he captures her in a forest, not in the convent itself. Cardenio is more violent than in Cervantes. He rushes from Luscinda's house as soon as he thinks she has betrayed him and comes near fighting

(1) *Op. cit.*, II, 19.

a duel with his rival when he meets him. Luscinda's mother is omitted. As her father is called avaricious, we can understand his conduct towards his daughter. Her attendant becomes a *nourrice* according to the tradition of classical tragedy.

The most important change is in the character of Don Quixote. It is true that Pichou retains such incidents as the meeting with mad Cardenio, the sending of Sancho to Dulcinea, the offer to restore Dorotea to her imaginary kingdom, and the battle with the wine cask, but he alters the character of the Don, keeping little besides his blindness to facts and his longing for a distinguished career. The expression of his love is made more ridiculous than in the original. His chivalry is twisted into braggadocio :

L'honneur suit mes desseins, la victoire mes pas,
Et l'un de mes regards peut causer cent trépas,
Amy de l'innocence, et vengeur de l'outrage,
Je borne ma grandeur des loix de mon courage,
Et tirant la valeur du sepulchre des morts
Je releue l'esclat de ses premiers efforts :
Le Tage tous les iours me voyant sur ses riuës
Precipite le cours de ses vagues craintiuës,
Et la mer receuant ses flots ensanglantez
Qui traînent les corps morts de ceux que i'ay dontez,
Croit que sa violence a dépeuplé la terre ¹.

Despite these assertions, he hesitates ² to rescue Sancho, attacked by Cardenio, and is put to flight by Fernando in a scene ³ that has no counterpart in Cervantes. He is no longer the *ingenioso hidalgo*, but a *miles gloriosus* with his two salient characteristics, bragging and cowardice ⁴.

Notwithstanding an excessive use of monologues and various episodic scenes, the play is written with spirit and has a unity of its own, not that of the later classicists. There are allusions to *Amadis* and *Orlando furioso*. Resemblances can be found between Pichou's lines and those of his immediate dramatic predecessors. The couplet (IV, 3),

Les paysans fatiguez ont quitté les campagnes,
Le soleil ne luit plus qu'au sommet des montagnes,

(1) III, 5. Cf. a similar attitude towards Don Quixote in the *Supercherie d'amour*, IV, 2, discussed above.

(2) III, 6.

(3) IV, 7.

(4) This has been noted by Rigal (*loc. cit.*) and by Fest, " Der Miles gloriosus in der franz. Komödie ", *Münchener Beiträge*, XIII (1897), 91, 92.

is an imitation of the lines from Racan's *Bergeries* quoted at the end of my discussion of that play. It is interesting to note that Racan, living in level country, sees the late sunlight reflected only by the chimneys, while Pichou, a Burgundian, substitutes mountains for the latter. In this play, as in Mairet's *Sylvie*, when a girl resists her father's effort to marry her against her will to a wealthy suitor, he remarks that the first night of marriage will bring her to reason ¹. I have pointed out a few verbal resemblances between this play and Mairet's *Chryséide* ².

Along with a good many conventional devices, this tragi-comedy is characterized by praiseworthy variety in its scenes, both as to location and tone. There are descriptive scenes, scenes of rapid dialogue ³, love scenes, comic scenes, scenes of psychological analysis. Three examples must suffice. Sancho reports to his master as follows :

Je la treuuy ioyeuse et faisant bonne mine
Assise mollement sur vn sac de farine,
Elle me dit, Sancho, cet illustre Seigneur
Sans l'auoir merité me fait beaucoup d'honneur ;
Si ma mere eust voulu ie serois mariée
A nostre grand valet qui l'en auoit priée :
Mais i'aime dauantage vn guerrier si parfait,
Rien ne peut égaler la faueur qu'il me fait,
Et puisque ie sçay bien les discours qu'il employe
Il faut rompre sa lettre afin qu'on ne la voye,
Il me parle d'amour.

D. Q. : O celestes accors
Des graces de l'esprit aux merueilles du corps ⁴.

A psychological struggle is depicted in a monologue of Cardénio :

Que ie suis maintenant entre deux passions
Touché diuersement de leurs esmotions,
L'esper me resioût, et la crainte me blesse,
I'espère en son amour, et ie crains sa foiblesse :
La femme est vn roseau qui branle au premier vent,
L'image d'une mer, et d'un sable mouuant ⁵ ;

(1) *Sylvie*, I. 854 ; *Cardénio*, I, 3.

(2) Cf. my edition of the latter play, *index*.

(3) II, 4.

(4) Cf. V, 1. Cf., for other comic passages, III, 5 and Sancho's lines at the end of the play.

(5) II, 2. The next to last line may have been imitated by Rayssiguier in his *Bourgeoise*, as suggested below, in the discussion of that play.

there is another in Fernando's lines :

Deux extremes puissans, l'amour et le deuoir,
Agitent mes esprits d'un contraire pouuoir,
L'un peut facilement excuser mon offence,
Mais puis-je contre l'autre auoir quelque defense ?¹.

I have already referred to the fact that Pichou uses *stances* in this play. He must have contributed to making them popular, though he is not, as Rigal supposed, the first French dramatist to make use of them².

His versification and his vocabulary belong in general to the new school of poets and I have noted no example of hiatus, but his style did not suit everyone, for Isnard tells us that this first play of his was accused of " barbarie et d'une hardiesse trop excessive " and that he thinks this criticism was based on the fact that " elle n'est point fardée, et qu'elle n'a pas ces iustes conionctures que quelques escriuains du temps obseruent iusques à la superstition ". In other words *Cardenio* lacks *préciosité*. Its simplicity was considered a blemish.

Pichou's second play is known only through Isnard's statement that it has for subject " les Auantures de Rosilcon contenues dans le Roman de Mr le Marquis d'Vrfé. " The fourth part of the *Astrée*, published in 1627, Book X, does, indeed, contain the story of Rosilcon, a romantic theme which Du Ryer was to dramatize in 1634 under the same name and publish two years later as *Cléomédon*. Whether or not Pichou's play had any influence on Du Ryer's nobody knows, whatever Fournier may say³. It is safe to assume only that the two plays treat the same subject.

Next came *L'INFIDÈLE CONFIDENTE*⁴, played as early as 1629, since, in the fall of that year, the *Plainte de Lorise dans un désert*, found in IV, 4, was published among the *Autres œuvres poétiques du sieur Pichou*. The case is very similar to that of the dialogue from *Sylvie*, published before the rest of the play was in print. The location of the play and the names of the characters indicate a Spanish source, but up to the present nobody has discovered it. A few years ago I found listed in Paz y Melia and La Barrera manuscripts of plays⁵ that seemed to deal with the same subject. My sus-

(1) V., 4.

(2) *Loc. cit.*, and cf. above, p. 24.

(3) Cf. my *Pierre Du Ryer Dramatist*, Washington, Carnegie Institution, 1912, pp. 62, 63, where I have established these facts and demonstrated Fournier's unreliability.

(4) Paris, Targa, 1631, 8°.

(5) The MSS. are numbered 2173-74 in Paz y Melia (*Catálogo*, Madrid, 1899) ; 16609, 16094, 17403, 15090, 15340 in the National Library of Madrid.

pictions were confirmed by Sr. Germán Arteta, who kindly examined the documents in Madrid for me. He found, however, that the oldest manuscript does not antedate 1674 and that the plays were apparently much later than Pichou. As the theme of the rival houses, the Pachèques and Palameques, is a familiar one in Spanish literature, it seems likely that Pichou used as a source a *novela* — possibly a play ¹ — that has not come to the attention of any student of the drama and that the resemblances that exist between the French play and the Spanish manuscripts to which I have referred are due to their common origin rather than the influence of one upon the other ². Some of the incidents resemble the *Astrée*, for the marriage of a woman to her opponent in a duel, who falls in love with her only after being her enemy, is found in the episode of Lipandas ³, in which a deserted maiden follows her lover and fights for him in a judicial combat. The circumstances connected with the combat are like those of the episode of Madonte ⁴.

Isnard testifies to the popularity and merit of this romantic play,

que l'on a veuë si souuent representer publiquement par les Comediens de l'Hoste de Bourgoigne, dans laquelle ie pense sans mentir que la force de iugement, la viuacité de l'esprit et la majesté du langage de l'Autheur semblent auoir effacé toute la gloire des autres pieces que l'on auoit auparauant admirées.

(1) M. Martinenche's statement (*op. cit.*, p. 174) that Pichou " imite la comedia, mais il n'en voit que la surface " is accompanied by no evidence.

(2) The scene of the play is laid at Toledo in the time of Charles V. While Lisanor Pachèque is expressing his devotion one night in a garden to Lorise, whose father is a friend of the rival family, Fernan and Pedro Palomeque are planning an attack upon the house of the enemy. Their sister, Céphalie, falls in love with Lisanor, substitutes herself for her friend, Lorise, at the next interview, wins his affections, and elopes with him when he learns that his house has been pillaged and all but one of his servants killed by her brothers. But the lovers are overtaken in a forest when temporarily separated through Lisanor's efforts to rescue from a well his one remaining servant and placed in a château after Lisanor has slain two soldiers. Soon they discover each other and escape by bribing their jailer. When Fernan finds this out, he vents his wrath on Lorise by stabbing her. Thinking he has killed her, he and his brother charge Lisanor with the crime, but Céphise's mother, who has accompanied her sons, discovers that Lorise is not dead and brings her back to good health. When Lisanor, now safe in Portugal with Céphalie, learns of the accusation, he persuades the king to allow him to meet his enemies in a judicial combat, which takes place before the king. Lisanor is preparing to fight alone against Fernan and Pedro when he is joined by a stranger knight. After an indecisive combat, the king orders the disclosure of this knight's identity, who turns out, of course, to be Lorise. Lisanor explains, with apparent regret, that he cannot reward her heroism, for he is already married to Céphalie, but he finds a substitute in Fernan, who confesses his guilt and is moved by her forgiveness to fall in love with her. The daughter of a Portuguese nobleman is produced at the last moment to complete the general happiness by marrying Pedro.

(3) *Astrée*, Part. IV, Bk. XII. Cf. also d'Audiguier's *Lysandre et Caliste* and its imitation by Du Ryer, discussed below.

(4) *Astrée*, Part. II, Bk VI. Cf. its imitations by La Charnays and Auvray.

This success is not due to the study of the characters, for no effort is made to explain their swift changes of motive, or their strange adaptability to new situations, nor to the comic element, which here is as insignificant as it was important in *Cardénio*. What probably charmed the audience was the rapid action, the varied scenes, the lovers' balcony, combats, both judicial and otherwise, the use of night, of a forest, a prison, the heroine's disguise. The Iberian setting was still a novelty on the French stage, though it had been seen in *Cardénio* and in some of Hardy's plays. The lengthy *stances* (IV, 4) were popular enough to justify their "tirage à part". Two examples of the psychological struggle occur (II, 1 and II, 3, p. 34). In the detail of the text Pichou's play resembles here and there passages in plays that had preceded his. Spanish though its source must be, several of the situations can be compared with those of *Chryséide*. In both plays the lovers are separated, imprisoned, reunited. Those who pursue them begin *Chryséide*, IV, 3, with the line

Amis, cherchons partout, ne perdons point courage,
 questons parmy ces bois,

and *l'Infidèle confidente*, III, 2, as follows :

Amis, cherchons partout, ne laissons point de place...
 Ce bois si fauorable aux retraittes du crime
 Demande à nos desirs ce trauail legitime.

In both a lover calls upon a friend to admit that the beloved cannot fail to inspire love. In *Chryséide* occurs the couplet (1277, 1278) :

Que Bellaris pourtant est long temps à venir,
 Quelque accident nouueau le peut-il retenir ;

in *l'Infidèle confidente* (II, 4) :

Sans doute Céphalie est bien longue à venir
 M'apprendre le sujet qui la peut retenir.

This last couplet may be compared with *Pyrame*, IV, 3 :

Mais quoi ! ce paresseux est encore à venir,
 Je ne sçay quel sujet le peut tant retenir.

In all three plays a woman who believes her lover is dead calls on his shade to wait for her, while in both of the later plays she points out that it is easy to find a means of death. Thus Pichou,

while seeking foreign material, makes use of terms that his audience had been trained to appreciate. He had made in this play, as in *Cardenio*, a good beginning for a dramatic career, however melodramatic *l'Infidèle Confidante* may appear to us. His *Filis de Scire*, which will be studied in the next chapter, constituted another success. It is by no means improbable that he might have had a future like that of Du Ryer or Rotrou, but his career was ended by an assassin before he could develop as they did his dramatic art and his interpretation of life.

The second member of this group of budding dramatists is Auvray, who is not to be confounded with Jean Auvray¹, author of the *Banquet des muses*, for the latter belonged to the preceding generation and died before 1626. Nor is there any evidence that he was the Guillaume Auvray mentioned by J. A. Guiot in *Les trois siècles palinodiques*², or that he "seroit mort à Rouen le 19 novembre 1633"³. What we do know of him is that he was a very young lawyer and dramatist in the fall of 1628, a friend of Du Ryer and an enemy of Hardy, that his nose was short and flat, that according to Gaillard⁴,

Auvray, ce gros camart, plaide pour les suivantes,

and that he published two plays, a collection of letters, a book of piety, and a panegyric called *Louis le Juste*⁵. Both of his plays are tragi-comedies, derived from romantic episodes of the *Astrée*. As the second, *Dorinde*, was probably not played before 1630, it will be discussed below. MADONTE⁶ was in the possession of the actors of the Hôtel de Bourgogne before the fall of 1628, for it is referred to by Hardy at that time :

L'auteur en son Épitre persuade à cettuy-ci qu'il a fait un lyon de sa Madonte...

(1) M. Lachèvre was the first to distinguish the two men (*Bib. Rec.* III, 192-194). In arriving at the proper distribution between them of their works (*Rec. Lib.* pp. 79-84 and sup., pp. 11, 12), he was aided by Pierre Louÿs. I came subsequently and independently to much the same conclusions in *R. H. L.*, XXIV (1917), 414-421.

(2) M. Lachèvre seems inclined to believe it, though he shows that Guiot incorrectly assigned to Guillaume a volume of poems written by Jean.

(3) This date comes from Beauchamps, II, 22, 23, who does not give his authority for it. As he recognizes the existence of only one Auvray, who was certainly dead before 1626, his evidence is of little value. Gaillard (*Œuvres*, Paris, Jean du Gast) refers to him in 1634 as if he were still alive, though this does not disprove Beauchamps altogether, since Gaillard may have completed his manuscript before the preceding November.

(4) Cf. below, p. 661.

(5) Cf. Lachèvre, *Rec. Lib.*, p. 79. All these were published at Paris between 1630 and 1633.

(6) Paris, Sommaville, 1631 and 1632, 8°; Courbé, 1631, 8°.

Ce Pygme de camart est encor à rapetasser son personnage de Tesandre [Thersandre] que les Comediens, ses maîtres, luy ont fait recoudre comme l'un des plus nécessaires ¹,

an operation that seems to have been successful, for the play still formed part of the repertory of these actors in 1633, when it figures in Mahelot's *Mémoire*.

The play is based on the *Astrée*, Part II, Bk. VI and Part III, Bks. VI and XII ². The main events and characters are retained, but there are some omissions and some changes in order. There is practically no verbal imitation, much that is narrated is presented directly, and some scenes, only slightly suggested in the original, are considerably developed. The queen, the wife of Leontidas, and the aunt of Lériane, all unnecessary persons, are suppressed, as are Galathée and the shepherds and shepherdesses that meet the hero and heroine. Thersandre is given a confidant in order that he may express himself in dialogue. A desire for concentration explains why he omits the beginning of the love affair, the scenes of the glove, of the temple, in which the hero cries out, of Lériane's aunt. A desire for verisimilitude may have caused the omission of the scene in which the heroine holds a live coal in her hand without its burning her and that in which the lion appears. Although the *bienséances* are not yet established, a tendency in this direction explains why the *accouchement* takes place behind the scenes, but it is unfortunate that many of the attendant circumstances added by d'Urfé to show how the pregnancy of one woman could be attributed to another are here omitted, so that this essential part of the plot remains much harder to accept than in the original. On the other hand, the shortening of the play by combining scenes described in the sixth and twelfth books is to Auvray's credit ³.

(1) E. Roy, *R. H. L.*, XXII (1915), pp. 542, 543.

(2) To be exact, in the play III, 3, 4, IV, 5, V, 2 and the beginning of 3 derive from Part III, Bk. VI; the rest of V, 3 from Part III, Bk. XII; all the remainder from Part II, Bk. VI.

(3) The plot concerns the love of two high-born persons, Damon and Madonte. The latter's guardian, desiring to marry her, on account of her wealth, to his nephew, places near her the villain of the story, a middle-aged woman, Lériane, who falls in love with Damon and first seeks to win him by making him think that Madonte loves Thersandre, a man beneath him in station, but this only results in a duel in which Thersandre is left for dead and Damon goes off wounded after taking the ring that Lériane had given his rival as a present from Madonte. Not wishing to live, he sends by his squire the ring to the heroine and a bloody handkerchief to Lériane, then throws himself into a river. After trying in vain to save him, the squire reports his death to these women. Before the duel, however, Lériane, in her efforts to separate the lovers, had roused in her niece, Ormante, a passion for Damon with the result that he has got her with child. In order to revenge herself on Damon Lériane now seizes the opportunity to injure Madonte and, while the latter is mourning her

The play is not unified except by a general interest in the lovers. The last act is superfluous. The motivation of Lériane is improved somewhat, as more emphasis is placed at the beginning of the play on her love for Damon, but the extraordinary trick she plays upon Madonte is hardly accounted for either psychologically or realistically. Neither in the source nor in the play do Damon and Madonte concern themselves in the least about the fate of Damon's child by Ormante. Certainly we are far from the modern problem play. The rôle of Leontaris, without whose aid Lériane could not have sustained her charges, is not sufficiently emphasized. On the other hand, the king's rôle, while decked out with some conventional boasting, prepares the dénouement by the strict sense of justice that he is shown to have in IV, 3. The tragi-comedy is certainly far more dramatic than the *Madonthe* of La Charnays, for while the older play ends, as unity requires, with the combat to save the heroine, its author forgets to unite the lovers when it is over. Moreover La Charnays fails to dramatize the interesting scenes of Lériane's plotting against Madonte and accusing her of having had a child, and follows d'Urfé's order, whether it is the best for dramatic purposes or not. In fact La Charnays's play gives rather the impression of a purely literary effort without thought of an audience, while Auvray's is clearly intended for performance, a fact that is evidenced not only by the search for popular scenes, but by the stage-directions and these significant lines given to Lériane (I, 2) :

S'il méprise mes feux, et qu'il me congédie
Je seray le suiet d'une ample tragedie.

The rôle of Lériane is, indeed, the most important during the first four acts. It is unfortunate that it was not made to dominate the whole play, for in itself it is not unlike that of Roxane in *Bajazet*, the

lover in another room, introduces Ormante into her bed and has her delivered there of her child, which Lériane declares to be Madonte's. She then demands that the latter be burned alive, according to the law. The king grants Madonte the privilege of a trial by combat and the faithful Thersandre fights for her against the nephews of Lériane. He is wounded by them, but Damon, picked up by fishermen, healed by a hermit, and informed of the event by his squire, arrives in time to kill the nephews and save Madonte, while Lériane is burned in her stead. Believing that the heroine no longer loves him, Damon wanders off to Forez in obedience to a "Voix". Hearing a knight singing verses in disparagement of women, he kills him in a duel, whereupon he is attacked by soldiers, several of whom he kills. Thersandre and Madonte, who, disguised as shepherd and shepherdess, are seeking Damon, arrive in time for the former to save Damon and be killed himself and for the latter and Damon to be finally reunited.

rôle of an older woman of considerable power in love with a young man and intent on avenging herself upon him and the woman he prefers to her. In a tone worthy of tragedy she opens the fourth act :

Il le faut, il est temps, Lerieane conçois
 Vn crime à te vanger qui soit digne de toy
 Vn crime tout nouveau, crime que l'enfer mesme,
 Reconnoisse pour tien, que tu craignes toy mesme,
 Capable d'obscurcir la lumiere du iour
 Et tel enfin qu'estoit nagueres ton Amour.

But instead of building the play around her, Auvray emphasizes startling events and verbal conceits. "Madonte m'a domté" declares Thersandre (II, 1). The hero and heroine meet at dawn and talk at length, as do the lovers of Racan and Mairet, about the birds and the flowers (I, 3) :

Toutes les fleurs encore ont la teste baissee
 Le soucy seulement entretient la pensee
 S'étonnant toutes deux de ce que mon Soleil
 Semble perdre aujourdhuy le soin de son réueil...
 Chantez petits oyseaux ie vous donne licence.

They continue to toy with puns on the love terms they use, quite independently of the source except that in both the lovers call each other brother and sister. Damon runs the gamut of flowers, referring to the rose, the "bijarre,"¹ the lily, the violet, the marigold, and the narcissus. Madonte replies with a familiar echo of Ronsard and many others :

Un instant voit ainsi naître et mourir l'Amour
 Comme l'âge des fleurs ne passe pas vn iour,
 La fleur que l'orient du soleil a faict naître
 Le couchant la flétrit, et la fait disparaître.

From Théophile comes the inspiration for the lines (II, 6) :

En chemise, en chemise, afin de voir sans peine
 Le sang que mon épée aura pris de ta veine
 Ie la veux voir rougir de la temerité²...

(1) A flower of variegated colors, as shown by the name, which is associated with *bigarré*, written *bigearré* in the sixteenth century. The line in which it occurs reads :

Cette bijarre a pris trop de couleurs ensemble.

(2) Cf. also lines quoted by Magendie, *op. cit.*, pp. 442, 443.

These were hardly in keeping with the tone of the psychological tragedy that was soon to develop, though we find a struggle in the mind of the hero (IV, 5) and such a Cornelian couplet as (II, 6) :

C'est lâcheté de viure alors qu'il faut mourir
Les hommes courageux ont de quoy se guerir:

The play is a good example of how a subject that had tragic possibilities was treated in 1628. If any one deplores the classical movement in France, he has only to compare a play like this with a tragedy written a decade later to realize the need for the reform that was to come.

Pierre Du Ryer ¹ was, after Mairet, the first writer of the new generation who lived to contribute extensively to the classical movement. He did more than any one else, unless it be Hardy, to make tragi-comedy the leading French *genre* in 1628-1629, for three of his tragi-comedies were first acted in these years, one of them written in two *journées* of five acts each. He belonged to the petty nobility and was born at Paris about 1600. He was the son of Isaac Du Ryer, poet and dramatist, who introduced him to plain living, probably turned over to him his position as secretary to the king, gave him an introduction to court circles, and doubtless inspired in him an ambition to write plays. His subsequent career shows that he must have been well trained as a classical scholar. He also studied enough law to be an "avocat au Parlement". Between 1621 and 1633 he held the positions of "secrétaire de la chambre du roy" and of "conseiller et secrétaire du roy et de ses finances". From 1634 to 1640 he was secretary to César, duc de Vendôme. He was twice married and lived for some time in considerable poverty outside of what was then Paris, at Picpus. In 1646 he was elected to the French Academy over Corneille on the ground that, while the writers were of equal value, Corneille had the disadvantage of living at Rouen. He died in the fall of 1658. Between 1634 and that date he published a very large number of translations from Latin and Greek, probably his chief means of livelihood. The great burden of this hack-work may have done much to stifle his dramatic ability.

We have seen that he belonged to the group of young writers who were opposed to Hardy. He is said to have presided over the meet-

(1) Cf. my *Pierre Du Ryer Dramatist*, Washington, Carnegie Institution, 1912. Additions to this will be found in E. Roy, *op. cit.*, in my "Alexandre Hardy et ses rivaux," *R. H. L.*, 1917, and a correction in my "Rayssiguier," *R. H. L.*, 1922.

ings of this group at a cabaret in 1628. His first play, ARÉTAPHILE, mentioned by Hardy as having a title "propre a nommer l'enseigne d'une fameuse taverne," was probably first played in that year¹. It was never printed, but it survives with *Clitophon* in manuscript form². As Du Ryer combined an intimate knowledge of Latin with the taste of his times for adventure, he naturally turned for this, as for the two following plays, to romantic stories written in Latin or Greek. Like them, too, it figures in Mahelot's *Mémoire*. According to a preface to the manuscript, it was very successful and Gaston d'Orléans called it his play, possibly because the hero takes up arms to recover his throne that has been usurped, a method that Gaston subsequently used unsuccessfully to regain his influence with his brother, the king. Indeed we shall see that there is much in Du Ryer to appeal to the rebellious nobles of his day, with one of whom, the Duke of Vendôme, he became associated closely. The plot is derived from Plutarch's *Virtues of Women*, XIX³. The emphasis is placed upon love rather than patriotism, the hero combines the functions of two persons in the source, and his marriage is arranged at the end of the play instead of taking place before the story begins. Instead of prostituting her daughter for patriotic purposes, the heroine marries her to the tyrant's brother and her vengeance is less horrible. The meeting of the lovers, Arétaphile and Philarque, at dawn, the *préciosité* of their conversation, the use of night are inspired by the literature of Du Ryer's day⁴. The most striking figure is that of Nicocrate, who kills the King of

(1) As most of Du Ryer's plays followed one another at comparatively short intervals, especially before he became greatly involved in translation, it is natural to suppose that *Arétaphile* was played not long before his second play, which had not appeared when Hardy wrote at the end of 1628, for the latter refers to *Arétaphile* as its author's only play. 1628 is probably, therefore, the proper date for this first play, a better one than 1627, which M. Lachèvre assigns to it without telling us why he does so. Cf. Lanson, *R. H. L.*, XV (1908), 354, and my *Pierre Du Ryer*, pp. 33, 34. His other plays with their probable dates of presentation are: *Clitophon* (1629), *Argénis et Poliarque* (or *Argénis, première journée*) and *Argénis* (1629), *Lisandre et Caliste* (1630), *Amarillis* (1641), *Alcimédon* (1632), *les Vendanges de Suresne* (1633), *Cléomédon* (first called *Rossyléon*, Feb., 1634), *Lucrèce* (1636 or 1637), *Alcionée* (1637 or 1638), *Clarigène* (1637 or 1638), *Saül* (1639 or 1640), *Esther* (1642), *Scévole* (1643 or 1644), *Bérénice* (1644), *Thémistocle* (end of 1646 or beginning of 1647), *Nitocris* (1648), *Dynamis* (1649), *Anaxandre* (1654).

(2) The oldest MS. of the two plays is in the collection Douais at the Arsenal, another is fr. 25496 at the Bib. Nat., and a third, copied by me in 1908, is in my possession.

(3) For an extensive analysis and criticism cf. my *Pierre Du Ryer*, pp. 35-40.

(4) Many familiar themes are treated, such as the power of kings (I, 7), the fact that one cannot return from the next world (V, 2), a criticism of courtiers (II, 10), "Mon ame est en prison et je suis libre encore" (II, 11). The lines in which the hero cannot understand why the wall that separates him from his beloved "ne soit point encore entr'ouvert de pitié" (III, 2) seems directly inspired by Théophile Pyrame, II, 1:

Cyrene, deprives his daughter, Arétaphile, of the throne, and forces her to marry him. She makes an unsuccessful attempt to poison him, then has him murdered by his brother, Cléandre, who has fallen in love with her sister. Philarque now has little difficulty in overthrowing this weak monarch, winning the throne for himself, and marrying Arétaphile.

Had he treated this subject ten years later, Du Ryer might have made of it a classical tragedy built round the character of a strong woman, who is moved essentially by patriotism, or round a vicious prince, who has some of the qualities of Racine's Nero and of Tristan's Herod, but he divides the interest, causing Nicocrate to disappear in the fourth act and shifting our attention from Arétaphile to her sister. There are too many characters in the play, too many monologues and sentimental dialogues. Yet it has certain qualities that deserve praise.

For the first time a dramatist of the new generation has devoted a considerable portion of his play to questions of state, for the part allotted them in Mairet's *Sylvie* is too slight to merit serious consideration. The usurpation of a throne and the restoration of the lawful heirs constitute the principal subject of the play. The attitude of the tyrant and that of the just ruler are shown. Courtiers are introduced who flatter the ruler, two others whose aims are good, but who use different means. One of them criticizes the tyrant and is put to death, the other pretends to support him, but secretly works against him. There are discussions (II, 1 and V, 1) as to the relative merits of mild or severe rule, and the play ends with an example of clemency (V, 13), which is not in the source.

Nor is it without dramatic and spectacular scenes, such as that of the murder of Nicocrate and the discovery of the body :

Il faut pour mieux le voir l'attirer a la Lune (IV, 10) ;

or that in which poison is tested by giving it to a prisoner (II, 4, 5) :

Voyez comme ce marbre est fendu de pitié,

and, as in the latter play we read (III, 1) :

Les Dieux sont roys du ciel, les roys Dieux de la terre,

so Nicocrate declares (II, 1) after he has become king :

Les Dieux sont Rois au Ciel, je le suis ici bas,
Qu'ils gouvernent la haut la pluye et le tonnerre
Pour moy j'aurai le soin de gouverner la terre.

This last couplet recalls one cited above, p. 123.

Viens ça, boit [*sic*] ce breuvage, il me faut satisfaire
Ainsi n'en doute point, ton destin rigoureux
Cessera de te rendre ici bas malheureux.

Captif :

Tu me vois par contrainte en cette obéissance
Cruel, ainsi je bois le fiel de ta puissance
Car je me doute bien que ce n'est qu'un poison.

Nicocrate :

Comme il tremble, je crois que vous avez raison.

Captif :

O mort achève donc, hé quoi mon innocence
Peut elle désarmer ta fatale Science...

Nicocrate :

Ton crime t'est remis.

Note, too, the scenes of psychological struggle (III, 5 and IV, 5) and the scene in which the heroine wins her freedom by pretending she thought the poison a love potion (III, 6). In the first of these Nicocrate's situation is remarkably like Herod's, for both are usurpers, married to princesses whom they love and who despise them, and in both cases the queen is accused of attempting to poison her husband and he has to decide between his desire to protect himself and his love for her (III, 5) :

La haine et l'amitié combattent dans mon ame
L'une ou l'autre à son tour diversement l'enflâme
Tantôt la haine emporte et tantôt mon amour
Ordonne que je rende, Arétaphile au jour.

The comic element is small, consisting chiefly of the use of disguise by the hero, his narrow escape, and a few jests, such as (IV, 6).

Il a crû cet amy

Que sans aimer ma femme il n'aimoit qu'à demi,

and the use of a proverbial statement that was later to be made famous by Molière : ¹

(1) *Femmes savantes*, II, 5, l. 420: " Et service d'autrui n'est pas un heritage " In their notes on this line Despois and Mesnard quote the proverb " service de grands (ou de grand) n'est pas heritage ", but give no examples of its occurrence earlier than the dictionaries of Furetière and of the Academy.

Je le connois trop tard et je vois d'avantage
Que service de grand n'est pas un heritage (IV, 5).

The language and versification is about that of Mairet's early plays. Hiatus occurs only occasionally ¹. The unusually large number of scenes in this and the following play is probably due to the fact that the original manuscripts have not been preserved and that they have been divided according to the more rigorous ideas of what constituted a scene, prevalent in the eighteenth century.

CLITOPHON was probably first played in 1629, for it is not referred to by Hardy in his attack upon Du Ryer at the end of 1628 and it is called his second play in the *avertissement* that accompanies the manuscript, which means that it was brought out before *Argénis et Poliarque*, probably first played also in 1629. It is listed by Mahlot as forming part of the repertory of the Hôtel de Bourgogne and was played at Carnival, 1634, according to the theatrical poster called *l'Ouverture des jours gras*, published by Fournier in his *Variétés historiques* ².

Clitophon is even further than *Arétaphile* from classical ideas of unity ³. It is true that both place the marriage of the lovers just after the end of the play and that most of the incidents of each play may be looked upon as helps or hindrances to that event, also that *Clitophon* does not treat political topics ⁴, but now for the first time Du Ryer attempts to give dramatic form to a long novel, an effort that was to be renewed in his next two plays. As in *Arétaphile*, the story is told from the beginning, but here the plot is complicated by the fact that the heroine passes through a larger number of perils. The author of the *avertissement* that precedes the two plays admits that both are irregular, but he holds that *Clitophon* is less so, on account of the fact that " les changemens de Scene et la trop longue durée de tems nécessaire a la conduite de la fable y sont entre les Actes ; en sorte que chaque Acte separement est dans l'étroite rigueur des regles. " He adds that this new method was greatly admired by the learned and that this play marked progress towards the observation of dramatic rules. One might think from this that the scenes are linked, but the briefest investigation will show that this is not the case. All that can be said for the theory is that when the scene shifts from one country to another and when a long period

(1) II, 10, IV, 2.

(2) Paris, 1855, II, 350-352.

(3) Cf. my *Pierre du Ryer*. pp. 40-44.

(4) Except (III, 9) the question whether a king should fight a duel to end a war.

of time elapses, these phenomena take place between the first and second or the third and fourth acts. But this can also be said of passage of time in *Arétaphile*, where there is no question of change of country. Moreover the action of *Clitophon* is not always subdivided in accordance with the acts. The first episode runs from the beginning of the play to III, 2; the second, which involves the heroine in a double peril, occupies the rest of the third act; while the remaining acts constitute a new episode in which the lovers run again a double risk. In this there is no progress towards the observance of the unities.

The source of the plot is the late Greek romance of Achilles Tatius called *Clitophon and Leucippe*, recently translated into French¹ and also dramatized about this time by Hardy. Du Ryer omits the dissertations on different kinds of love, the tirade against women, a number of descriptions, and some of the early incidents². He substitutes blood for entrails in the sack placed on the heroine's breast and adds a hill to the Egyptian delta.

The success of the play was doubtless due to the series of thrilling adventures and to the elaborate stage decoration, which requires one of Mahelot's longest descriptions. In other respects it is inferior to *Arétaphile* and displays a deplorable tendency towards care-

(1) By A. Remy, Paris, 1625. As the play was never published, it is probably this translation that Abraham Bosse had in mind when he wrote "Clitophon et Plucippe" upon one of the books displayed in his engraving of the Galerie du Palais. Cf. Marty-Laveaux, *Œuvres de P. Corneille*, Album.

(2) He begins the play shortly before the elopement of the lovers from Syria to Egypt. Shipwrecked there, they are captured by pirates and ordered to be sacrificed to the gods by a Syrian called Ménélas, who is no other than the father of Lucipe's manservant. Clitophon is rescued by Charmide, King of Alexandria, while Ménélas places a sack of blood on Lucipe's breast and, when he has climbed upon a hill, pretends to kill Lucipe, but in reality only makes the blood flow from the sack and, having given her a sleeping potion, lays her in a coffin, from which she is removed at night with her lover's help. She is now protected by the King of Alexandria, to whom Clitophon, taking a leaf from the biography of Abraham, declares that she is his sister. The king promptly falls in love with her and asks Clitophon to win her for his harem. The lovers are saved from this difficulty by the death of the king in a duel with the leader of the pirates, but in the meantime one of his subjects has carried off the heroine in a boat. We learn subsequently that Clitophon was foiled in his pursuit by the fact that, as his boat approached that of the ravisher, the latter cut off the head of a young woman and threw the body into the water, thus making him believe that Lucipe had been beheaded. Du Ryer does not attempt to reproduce this spectacular scene on the stage, as does Hardy. The last two acts take place at Ephesus, where the lovers meet again, for Lucipe has escaped from the pirates, and, under the name Lucène, is now serving a wealthy woman, who thinks her husband is dead, falls in love with Clitophon, and asks Lucipe to help her win him. The husband returns, discovers his wife's love for Clitophon, arrests him, and makes him think that Lucipe is dead, so that in despair he is willing to be put to death as her murderer. Clitophon, cleared of the charge of adultery, has his fate referred to the goddess, but at this juncture Lucipe's father arrives to make sacrifice and Lucipe herself turns up, so that there is no further obstacle to their union.

lessness in dramatic composition, of which the author had to be cured by the example of Mairêt. It has, however, a number of points that deserve comment.

There are several comic passages, usually at the expense of women, as (I, 3),

Une fille d'esprit qui captive nôtre ame
Est bonne pour Maitresse est ¹ rarement pour femme,

and (IV, 5), reminiscent of the Ephesian widow :

Melite a ce raport n'oublia point les pleurs
Un transport excessif exprima ses douleurs,
Et comme si son sein eut fait un sacrilege
A force de le battre elle en noircit la neige
Elle se désespere elle accuse les Cieux
Elle veut arracher et son cœur et ses yeux
Enfin elle parut tellement desolée
Qu'en moins de quatre jours elle fut consolée.

It is the first play in which Du Ryer uses *stances* (V, 2). A psychological struggle is found in a monologue (IV, 8), summed up in the following couplet :

Je suis comme une esclave au milieu de ses gênes
Qui peut et ne peut pas abandonner ses chaines.

When Clitophon gets only a glimpse of Lucipe's face, he says that it is

Comme un Astre qui passe au dessous d'un nuage (V, 3).

Some examples of preparation can be cited. We learn Ménélas's occupation (II, 8) before we see him and the custom of releasing a prisoner in honor of the visit of foreigners to Diana's shrine is mentioned (V, 7) before we need it in the dénouement. There are several dramatic curiosities, a girl who is given nothing to say (I), a death scene in which a man dies before he has completed his sentence (II, 12), such examples of *préciosité* as Lucipe's punning when she comes to from her drugged sleep and Clitophon's play on words in referring to the sweetheart he supposes dead (IV, 2). This is the first of a series of French plays, including the *Cid*, in which the hero

(1) Read *et*.

offers a sword to his beloved with the request that she kill him with it (IV, 10) :

Et si je suis enfin de ta grace incapable,
Prends ce fer en ta main et punis ce coupable.

Resemblances can be pointed out between *Clitophon* and several plays of this general period ¹. *Pyrame*, V, 1,

Belle nuit, qui me tends tes ombrageuses toiles,

is echoed by III, 3,

La nuit a resserré ses ombrageuses toiles.

Chryseide, ll. 127, 128, reads

On ne verra iamais vn corps si bien formé,
Nature ne le fit que pour le voir aimé,

which may have inspired *Clitophon*, II, 2,

Je pense que le Ciel ne les voulut former
Qu'a dessein seulement qu'ils se pussent aimer.

In both plays (*Chryseide*, ll. 1355 ff., *Clitophon*, IV, 1) the lover is advised by a faithful attendant to give up his beloved, which he refuses to do and uses the phrase "ne me parle jamais." In both a king is willing to marry a girl beneath him in rank when the fact that she is by no means of royal birth is pointed out to him (*Chr.*, ll. 637-644; *Clit.*, III, 5). In both the gods are held responsible for a lover's misfortunes (*Chr.*, ll. 1003, *Clit.*, II, 10). As in *Arétaphile*, IV, 10, reference is made in *Clitophon* (V, 4) to the discovery of a dead body by moonlight, and as in *Tyr et Sidon* (2 j., IV, 3) the sea is referred to as "la mere d'Amour" (IV, 2).

Du Ryer became still more expansive in his next undertaking. He again chose a novel written in a classical language, Barclay's *Argenis*, first published in 1621 in Latin, but, not content with five acts, he wrote ten and divided them into two *journées*, called ARGÉNIS ET POLIARQUE ² and ARGÉNIS ³. Since they are conceived as

(1) It may have furnished a suggestion to Corneille for his *Place royale*; cf. below my discussion of that play.

(2) The title-page has it *L'Argénis du Sr. Du Ryer, tragi-comédie, première journée*, Paris, Nicolas Bessin, 1631 (*priv.*, Feb. 25, 1630; *achevé*, May 10, 1630), but in the *Au Lecteur* and the running title he calls the play *Argénis et Poliarque*. It is an octavo, dedicated to Marshal de la Chastre.

(3) *L'Argénis du Sr. Du Ryer, tragi-comédie, dernière journée*, Paris, vefue Nicolas

two parts of a whole, it is probable that both were played at least six months before the first was published, which means that they were acted as early as the latter part of 1629. Later on it is quite possible that only the second part was given at the Hôtel de Bourgogne, for a résumé of the first part is made in the second (III, 3) and the list of requirements in Mahelot for acting the play mentions nothing that is not found in the second part, while no scenery is mentioned that is needed only by *Argénis et Poliarque* ¹. The division into two *journées* had already been made in the case of *les Heureuses Infortunes*, into eight in that of Hardy's *Théagène et Caricléa*, but it is more likely that Du Ryer was influenced either by *Tyr et Sidon*, recently republished in two *journées*, or by lost plays of Hardy, *Pandoste* and *Parténie*, mentioned by Mahelot as similarly divided ².

Barclay, as I have shown ³, began his novel *in medias res* and had the early events of the story related by characters in his third and fourth books. This arrangement was followed by Calderon when he dramatized the book and by Du Ryer in his second part. But if we consider the latter's two *journées* as making a whole, he cannot be said to have done so, for in *Argénis et Poliarque* he dramatizes this material that Barclay had reserved to be subsequently narrated ⁴. This first *journée* tells how the lovers met and fell in love and how Poliarque rescued Argénis; the second *journée*, how they overcame the opposition of three rivals for her hand. While the plot ⁵ is taken in the main from Barclay's novel, Du Ryer makes

Bessin, 1631, 8° (*priv.*, April 18; *achevé*, June 15). It is dedicated to the wife of Marshal de la Chastre.

(1) Cf. my *Mémoire de Mahelot*, p. 78. Note, too, that when Poisson, about 1662, in his *Baron de la Crasse*, refers to it as still surviving in provincial repertories, he calls it merely *Argénis*.

(2) *Mémoire de Mahelot.*, pp. 71, 72, 75, 76.

(3) For this and other facts about the play, cf. my *Pierre Du Ryer Dramatist*, pp. 44-50.

(4) As we shall see, this is the method already used in 1628 by Schelandre when he expanded his *Tyr et Sidon* into two *journées*.

(5) Fearing for his daughter's safety, the King of Sicily shuts her up in a castle under the guard of an old woman, Sélénisse. Licogène seeks to take her out by force, but his plans are thwarted by Poliarque, a French prince, who, having fallen in love with the portrait of Argénis, disguises himself as a girl, is received into the castle, wins the affections of the princess without telling her who he is and puts to flight the armed men whom Licogène sends to attack her father and carry her off. Poliarque now tells Argénis who he is and offers to let her kill him, leaves the castle, goes to court without his disguise, and, after a scene in the temple in which Argénis recites stances to Minerva that are meant to convey to Poliarque an assurance of her devotion, he defeats Licogène in battle and gives peace to the kingdom. Only temporarily, however, for the second *journée* brings new difficulties. Poliarque is attacked by Licogène's ambassadors, of whom he kills three and puts the rest to flight. A knight errant, Arcombrotte, son of the Queen of Mauretania, witnesses the contest, offers assistance to Poliarque, and becomes his friend. Soon Poliarque

additions to it as well as changes in the order of the events. M. Marsan believes that the use of the portrait probably comes from Mairet's *Sylvie*, a play from which Du Ryer may have received other suggestions¹, but it is also possible that it comes directly from *Amadis*, though the scene is nearer to Mairet's. From his own *Clitophon* he may take the incident of the sword which the hero offers to the heroine in order that she may put him to death if she likes²:

Si ie suis criminel, tenez voila dequoy
Me punir d'un forfait commis sous vostre loy.

The song (*A. et P.*, I, 2) and much of the dialogue are independent of Barclay. At the same time Du Ryer eliminates a number of episodes found in the novel. There is no evidence that he influenced Calderon's play, published in 1637, which shows greater unity than his, but over which Du Ryer has at least one advantage, that we look upon Poliarque as the hero long before Arcombrotte is introduced, so that there is no danger of our regretting the solution of the play. I have suggested³ that a passage in *Argénis*, IV, 8, was imitated by Rotrou in his *Pèlerine amoureuse* (V, 3) and have quoted lines that probably go back to Théophile⁴. As in *Pyrame*⁵ and *Chryseide*, the hero asks if his beloved's beauty makes no impression upon his attendant and the latter warns him against loving her

is charged with slaying Licogène's ambassadors and takes refuge in a cave, while troops of peasants arrest in his place Arcombrotte and a crazy man, both of whom are taken to court, where one is welcomed and the other dismissed after serving to amuse the courtiers. Poliarque disguises himself as a painter and has a few words with Argénis before he leaves the country to get help. She then, in order to prevent the return of Licogène to favor, pretends that the goddess is angry. Soon Licogène's overthrow is accomplished by Arcombrotte, who brings in his head on a lance, and a new suitor for the hand of Argénis turns up, Radirobane, King of Sardinia. The latter bribes Sélénisse, lures Argénis to the seashore with a display of fireworks, and prepares to carry her off, when she is warned by Arcombrotte, pretends to be ill, and is taken to safety. Radirobane goes off in anger to attack Mauretania, but is there defeated and killed by Poliarque, who had been driven thither by a storm as he was returning from France with an army. Meanwhile Arcombrotte has been offered the hand of Argénis by her father, has returned to Mauretania for his mother's consent, and is prevented from fighting with Poliarque only by the interposition of the queen, who makes them swear to keep the peace till they reach Sicily, where she reveals the interesting fact that Arcombrotte is not her son, but her nephew, and that his father is no other than the King of Sicily, who had secretly married the queen's sister in his youth. As this makes him the half-brother of Argénis, marriage with her is out of the question and he contents himself with Poliarque's sister, who has just arrived from France, while Poliarque is united to Argénis.

(1) Cf. Marsan's edition of *Sylvie*, pp. 166, 186, 209, 220, 225, 228.

(2) *A. et P.*, IV, 4.

(3) *Op. cit.*, p. 47.

(4) Cf. above, p. 171.

(5) There is an allusion to the story of Pyramus in *Argénis*, II, 1, p. 44.

(*A. et P.*, I, 2), while later (*A. et P.*, II, 3) the danger of offending princes is emphasized ¹. The punning line (*Arg.*, III, 4),

Qui fit rougir de sang la face de l'estat,

must have met with success, for it is repeated in Du Ryer's *Alcionée* (I, 1), though the latter play shows no other example of this kind of verbal conceit. An interesting parallel can be drawn between Tartuffe's argument that his loving Elmire ² is a way of loving God and a couplet from *Argénis*, III, 5 :

Je croirois que les Dieux receuroient vn outrage
Si ie n'adorois pas leur plus parfait ourage.

The play is, moreover, the first I can find that gives expression to a thought subsequently made famous by Racine :

Et qui n'embrassent point qu'à dessein d'estouffer ³.

Du Ryer selected for this play, as for *Arétaphile*, a subject that treated of rebellion, war, and the fate of a kingdom. Such political themes as the uncertainty of rule, the divine right of kings, the necessity of crushing a rebellion at the start, and the right of a king to

(1) Cf. also *Chryside*, l. 1254, "que les ennuis sont longs, et que tes biens sont courts", with *Argénis et Poliarque*, II, 1, "Que les malheurs sont longs, que les plaisirs sont courts". For the possible influence of the play on *Isolite* cf. below, my study of the latter.

(2) III, 3, ll. 941, 942.

(3) *A. et P.*, I, 1. The line was imitated by Benserade in his *Cléopâtre*, II, 2 :

Cruelle, étouffe-moy, pour le mieux embrasser,

and his *Mort d'Achille*, III, 2 :

Et ne t'embrassera qu'afin de t'étouffer ?

and by Chapoton in his *Coriolan*, II, 5 :

Il ne l'embrassera qu'afin de l'estouffer.

Du Ryer writes a similar line in his *Clarigène*, IV, 2 :

Et m'estouffes enfin quand tu crois m'embrasser,

and Baro in his *Parthénie*, IV, 1 :

N'embrasse ce tyran qu'afin de l'estouffer.

Racine first introduces it into his *Thébaïde*, III, 6 :

Ils s'étouffent, Attale, en voulant s'embrasser.

The *locus classicus* is, of course, in his *Britannicus*, IV, 3 :

J'embrasse mon rival, mais c'est pour l'étouffer.

N. M. Bernardin in a note on the latter line in his edition of *Britannicus* (Paris, Delagrave) cites the verse from the *Thébaïde* and also, following Saint-Marc Girardin, those from *Clarigène* and *Parthénie*, but he evidently did not check up his reference, for the line he cites as coming from the former is really from the latter and *vice versa*.

break a law for the good of the state are set forth ¹. These topics must have been popular at the time the play appeared. He even particularizes his political emotions by introducing lines that express his own patriotism (*A. et P.*, V, 2) :

La valeur se nourrit dans le sein de la France,
Elle à tousiours faict voir que ses moindres guerriers
Arracheroient à Mars ses plus riches lauriers.

Du Ryer also did much to make the performance spectacular, with battles on the stage, a king's head brought in on a lance, and fireworks, then popular at court ². The scenery includes a castle, a woodland spot, a temple, a cave, a view of the sea. References to odors are noteworthy ³. Variety is given to the characters by the introduction of peasants, a madman, a sailor, and two doctors. The peasants and madman are obviously for comic purposes. The doctors give an opportunity for comedy (*Arg.*, IV, 3) that Du Ryer does not grasp, but his scene remains, at any rate, an early example of a dispute on the stage between two physicians on the subject of diagnosis. The conversation of the peasants is not only comic, but an echo of contemporary desire for peace and disgust with overbearing soldiers :

L'ayme bien que la paix habite nos forets,
L'ayme mieux que la pluye arrouse nos guerets,
Que le sang espanché de cent mille canailles,
Qui nous viennent succer iusque dans les entrailles.
Il me souuient tousiours de cinq ou six pendants,
Qui se donnoient chez moy le tiltre de soldarts,
Dont la hure effroyable, et les longues moustaches
Effarouchoient de peur nos moutons, et nos vaches ⁴.

There are a few allusions to classical myths ⁵, two examples of the psychological struggle, ⁶ and some lines that are interesting on account of their form. We find, for instance, in *Argénis*, pp. 108-113, twenty-two couplets, arranged like lines in a stichomythia. Alexandrines are employed exclusively in *Argénis*, but, in *Argénis et Poliarque*, use is made of shorter lines in a song (II, 2) and a

(1) Cf. *A. et P.*, pp. 85, 90, 50, *Arg.*, p. 197.

(2) Cf. in the *Autres Œuvres* that were published with *A et P.* the " Epigramme sur vn feu d'artifice bruslé devant le Louvre en la pr[és]ence du Roy. "

(3) *Arg.*, p. 5, " ambre ", " eau d'ange "; p. 74, " l'odeur de l'encens.... ces douces fumées. "

(4) *Arg.*, I, 4. For comic touches cf. also *A et P.*, p. 37, and *Arg.*, p. 9.

(5) *A. et P.*, p. 27, Jupiter and Dirce ; p. 33, Hercules in skirts ; p. 45, Polyphemus ; p. 53, Endymion.

(6) *A. et P.*, IV, 4 ; *Arg.*, II, 1.

prayer (V, 3). This last example has a certain importance, for it is the first time that the word *stances* is used as the heading of strophes in a French play, although the verses are not in a monologue and consequently represent only an intermediate stage in the history of *stances* in the sense in which they were used a little later.

The best known writer of the period is undoubtedly Jean Rotrou¹, who was born at Dreux in 1609 of a family that furnished three mayors to the town in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is quite probable that he succeeded Hardy as the regular "poet" of the troupe installed at the Hôtel de Bourgogne. He was protected by Chapelain and Richelieu and became one of the latter's "cinq auteurs". As he had studied law and become an "avocat au Parlement", it is not surprising that he purchased the office of "lieutenant particulier au bailliage de Dreux" in 1639. He married the following year and ultimately became the father of six children. The well-known account of his heroic death in an epidemic of 1650, when he refused to leave the town because he felt that the duties of his office held him there, is probably, but not certainly true, as we have no account of it written less than a half century after the event. It has served at any rate to consecrate Rotrou's memory, inspire a sculptor, and occasion an eloquent piece of French prose, contained in a letter in which Rotrou declined to leave the infected town:

Ce n'est pas que le péril ne soit fort grand, puisqu'au moment que je vous écris, les cloches sonnent pour la vingt-deuxième personne qui est morte aujourd'hui. Elles sonneront pour moi quand il plaira à Dieu.

Rotrou was a very prolific writer, who often shows imagination and fancy. He was the first French adapter of Spanish plays and owed a good deal to Italian and Latin dramas. He wrote² some of the best tragi-comedies of his generation and had considerable importance, as we shall see, in the history of both tragedy and comedy.

(1) For Rotrou the chief works to be consulted are the *Notice biographique sur Jean Rotrou*, written by the abbé Brillonn about the end of the seventeenth century and published at Chartres in 1885; H. Chardon, *la Vie de Rotrou mieux connue*, Paris, Picard, 1884; and several articles by Stiefel in *Z. F. S. L.* An interesting account of Rotrou with a survey of bibliographical material is given by Professor T. F. Crane in his *Jean Rotrou's Saint Genest and Venceslas*, Boston, Ginn, 1907. For other references cf. Lanson's *Manuel*, Lachèvre, *Bib. Rec.*, II, 16-18, 120, 440, 623, 684, IV, 12, my edition of Mahelot and my articles in *M. P.*, XV (1917), 435 ff. and *M. E. N.*, XXXVIII (1923), 290-292.

(2) The dates of Rotrou's plays have been discussed by Stiefel in a long and important article, *Z. F. S. L.*, XVI (1894), 1-49, that has been pretty generally accepted as the last word on the subject, but, while he collected much material of value, he interpreted it in an arbitrary fashion that led him to conclusions often difficult to accept. Moreover, he did not take into consideration the fact that some of Rotrou's plays appear in Mahelot's list and others do not and that, as that document was completed about February, 1634, we have in this fact a valuable test for the dates

His second play, the *Bague de l'Oubly*, will be discussed in the division of this chapter devoted to comedy. At present we are concerned with his first piece, L'HYPOCONDRIAQUE OU LE MORT AMOUREUX.

Since Rotrou was born in June, 1609, and tells us that he wrote *l'Hypocondriaque* "à l'âge de vingt ans", since also it is always classified as his first play and he states that he composed his second, *la Bague de l'Oubly*, six years before he published it in 1635, we are safe in placing the earlier play in 1628¹. Stiefel holds correctly that there is no Spanish influence shown by this play and that it is composed of pastoral and novelistic characteristics. He promises² further study of it in an article that, as far as I know, he never published. M. Bédier³ connects the plot with the folk tale of the woman who made her husband believe he was mad in order that she might be free to enjoy her lover. There is this difference, however, that, while the hero's madness is the result of deception, he was not intentionally deprived of his reason. A story that comes nearer to the dénouement of *l'Hypocondriaque* is that of a lawyer who believed he was dead and refused food until his wife's nephew pretended to have died also and induced him to eat by setting him an example, assuring him that it is customary to partake of nourishment in the other world⁴. But these folk tales would furnish only a part of the plot⁵ of the tragi-comedy.

of certain plays. I give below a list of Rotrou's plays with the dates of first performance for those originally produced no later than January, 1637, and the dates of *privilege* or printing for those brought out after that date. The reasons for dating the plays as I do will be discussed when each play is studied. Many of the dates are not proved with certainty, but they must be approximately correct. *L'Hypocondriaque* (1628, last half), *la Bague de l'Oubly* (1629, first half), *les Ménechmes* (1630-31), *Célie* (1631-32), *Diane* (1632-33), *la Pèlerine amoureuse* (1632-33), *Filandre* (1633), *les Occasions perdues* (1633), *Célimène* (1633), *l'Heureuse Constance* (1633), *Amélie* (1633), *Florante ou les Dédains amoureux* (lost, but mentioned by Mahelot), *Cléagène et Doristée* (early in 1634), *Hercule mourant* (early in 1634), *l'Heureux naufrage* (1634, after February), *l'Innocente Infidélité* (end of 1634 or beginning of 1635), *Crisante* (1635), *Florimonde* (1635), *Clorinde* (1635), *la belle Alphrède* (1636), *Agésilas de Colchos* (1636), *les Deux Pucelles* (end of 1636), *les Sosies* (end of December, 1636, or early in January, 1637), *Antigone* (*priv.*, Nov. 5, 1638), *Laure persécutée et les Captifs* (*priv.*, Feb. 8, 1639), *Iphigénie* (*priv.*, Nov. 13, 1640), *Clarice* (*priv.*, Feb. 28, 1642), *Bélissaire* (pub. 1644), *Célie et la Sœur* (*priv.*, Feb. 19, 1646), *Saint Genest* and *Don Bernard de Cabrère* (*priv.*, March. 11, 1647), *Venceslas* (*priv.*, March 28, 1648), *Cosroès* (*priv.*, Dec. 21, 1648), *Don Lope de Cardone* (*priv.*, Aug. 26, 1650). A good many others have been lost, for Rotrou called *Cléagène et Doristée* "la cadette de trente sœurs" when he published it in 1635.

(1) Cf. Stiefel, *op. cit.*, p. 41. It was printed at Paris by Du Bray in 1631, 8°; the *priv.* is of March 8.

(2) Cf. Z. F. S. L., XXIX (1906), 196-197.

(3) *Les Fabliaux*, Paris, Champion, 1925, pp. 475, 476. The account of the plot there given is incomplete, for no mention is made of the pistol shooting.

(4) Cf. Crane (*op. cit.*, p. 20), who cites Fournier and Louis Guyon. The latter declared that the play was acted before Charles IX.

(5) Obligated by his father to go on a journey that separates him from his beloved

The play contains much that is conventional, an attempted *enlèvement*, fighting and killing on the stage, chance meetings, and madness. Deception, practised in order to win a lover's affections from another woman, is very common in pastorals, especially in those descended from Grotto's *Pentimento amoroso*, but the use of a letter was not so common as it was subsequently to be ¹. Too much space is assigned to introductory material and the fourth act is superfluous. The intrigue is slight and largely dominated by chance. The only variation from alexandrine verse is furnished by the letter of III, 2. Rotrou still clings to the stichomythia ² and does not use *stances*. What is interesting is the attempt to study madness in greater detail than had been done before. I have already pointed out many cases of madness, but not of its treatment. Cloridan at first turns against the gods much as the angry king had done in Mairet's *Chryseide*, then he believes he is in the other world, seeks for Perside there, occasions a comic scene when he momentarily takes her rival for herself and later when he insists upon lying in a coffin. He raves a good deal about the other world and his thoughts dwell upon sexual matters (V, 1). Finally, when the "premier mort" fires at him a pistol loaded only with powder, he exclaims (V, 6) :

Perside à mon secours,
Inhumains ! que le coup de ma mort trouue sourds,

Perside, Cloridan wins the love of Cléonice by rescuing her from two men who are preparing to abduct her and whom he slays. When she finds that he loves another woman, Cléonice, getting possession through bribery of a love letter which Perside had sent him by a page, alters the words so that the missive is made to tell Cloridan of his sweetheart's death. He at once loses his mind. Meanwhile Perside and her cousin Aliaste, who happens to be in love with Cléonice, consult a sorceress and learn that Perside is to marry a dead man and that a corpse is preferred to Aliaste. They set out together, Perside in male attire, and meet the page, who has been robbed of the jewels he had received for his treachery. He confesses to them that he is the cause of Cloridan's madness. When they reach the home of Cléonice, the latter, despairing of winning Cloridan, welcomes Aliaste and is pardoned by Perside. They still have, however, the task of restoring Cloridan to his senses. He is now in a coffin in a mortuary chamber. Though he recognizes Perside, he still believes he is in the world of the dead. After taking counsel, they tell him that music will rouse the dead, then have music played, and he is shown that two apparently dead men arise under its influence from other coffins. He still doubts, however, until one of these fires a pistol at him and convinces him by his fear of being killed that he is really alive. The two pairs of lovers are then united.

(1) It has been suggested that this motif inspired the use of letters in Corneille's *Mélite*. See below, my discussion of that play, and cf. Nitze and Dargan, *History of French Literature*, New York, Holt, 1927, pp. 261, 262. Prof. Nitze admits, however, that the use of letters was a commonplace, a fact that has been demonstrated by M. Marsan, *Pastorale dramatique*, p. 360, who refers to the *Arrêts d'Amour*, to Lope's *Arcadia*, and to the *Astrée*, Part I, Bk. IV and Part V, Bk. XI. The latter seems to be the most probable source of Rotrou's episode.

(2) IV, 2. It contains no less than 36 lines.

Vous pouuiez m'obliger d'une dessence aisée ;
 Et vous conuertissez mon malheur en risée. (Il sort de son erreur).
 Mais dieux ! ce coup me laisse un libre mouuement,
 Et ie n'en puis trouuer la marque seulement :
 Ma raison voit enfin la fourbe découuerte :
 On me rend la santé sous le front de ma perte :
 Refuser du secours, c'estoit me secourir,
 Et vous me guerissez par la peur de mourir.

The play retains pastoral elements in the woodland scenery it employs, the episode of the page held up by robbers, and the use of a sorceress. Mahelot's drawing of the stage shows on the right a room with chairs, and a tree to which the page is tied by the robbers, on the left a forest, and in the rear a well-lighted room containing the coffins. This room was hidden ¹ till the last act, when it added to the effectiveness of the scene and helped bring the performance to a climax.

Resemblances can be pointed out between this play and *Pyrame*. Both express the effect of nature on a woman. As Thisbé is irritated by sunlight, the wind, the "cheute d'une feuille," ² so Cléonice feels a *terror umbrarum* (II, 1) :

Dans ces illusions où la crainte me plonge
 La cheute d'une feuille autorise mon songe ;
 Le vent avec ces bois choque aussi mon bon-heur,
 L'eau qui souille ces fleurs menace mon honneur.

Pyrame declares his jealousy of all objects that come too near his beloved ³ and Perside asserts that she can imagine hearing her lover (III, 5)

Porter comme autrefois de l'enuie aux zephirs :
 Iniurier ce voile et d'un jalou langage
 Deffendre à mes cheueux de baiser mon visage.

The list of flowers in Auvray's *Madonte* (I, 3) finds an echo in these lines addressed to the sun, invited to shine on the grave of the heroine :

Fais languir ta lumière entre les violettes :
 Un corps si précieux doit terminer tes vœux,
 Fais des lys de son teint, de l'or de ses cheueux :

(1) It is probable that the curtain used to conceal it represented a second room, which seems required by the play.

(2) *Pyrame*, I, 1.

(3) *Ibid.*, IV, 1.

De ses yeux des œillets, de ses léures des roses
Et dors en ce tombeau, si jamais tu reposes ¹.

While it is these three young men who, following the lead of Mairet, Théophile, and Hardy, did most to develop the tragi-comedy and give a romantic atmosphere to the plays that were to follow in the next few years, they were aided by an older man, though his work was less important than has been imagined and though he differed from them in some important respects. Jean de Schelandre ² had published in 1608 under the pseudonym of Daniel d'Anchères, an anagram of his name, a tragedy called *TYR ET SIDON*, "ou les funestes amours de Belcar et Méliane" (Paris, Jean Micard). It was in five acts with choruses and lengthy *récits* much in the manner of sixteenth century tragedy both in style and in structure. Colletet tells us ³ that he persuaded him to revise his works and

d'en adoucir la rudesse, ce qu'il commença de faire dans la dernière édition de sa tragi-comédie de *Tyr et Sidon*, car en plusieurs endroits je l'obligeois d'y passer la lime et, comme il le disoit, ma pierre de ponce, ce qu'il ne faisoit au commencement qu'avec répugnance, mais enfin il me donna les mains, lorsque je lui montrois que dans les vers de Virgile et de Ronsard qu'il me citoit à toute heure et bien à propos, il y avoit autant de douceur que de majesté, si bien que je rendis enfin son oreille ennemie des duretés et des cacophonies.

Nor did he yield altogether, for at the end of the new edition he writes this *Sonnet aux poètes de ce temps* ⁴:

Beaux esprits de ce temps, qui ravissez les cœurs
Par des pointes en l'air, des subtiles pensées,
Vos paroles de prose, en bon ordre agencées,
Me font rendre à vos pieds : vous estes mes vainqueurs.
Car moy ie ne suis plus courtisan des neuf sœurs ;
Des faveurs que j'en ay les modes sont passées ;
Peut-estre, toutesfois, qu'aux ames bien sensées

(1) IV, 2. For a possible influence on *Mélite*, cf. my discussion of that play.

(2) Cf. Jules Haraszti's edition of Schelandre's play of 1608, Paris, Édouard Cornély, 1908 (*Société des textes français modernes*) ; Lachèvre, *Bib. Rec.*, II, 29, 50, 403, 471, 685, IV, 27, 186 ; G. Cohen, *Les Ecrivains français en Hollande dans la première moitié du XVII^e siècle*, pp. 15-94, 693-711. He was a nobleman, born of Protestant parents at the château de Soumazanne (Meuse) in 1584. He studied at the University of Paris, fought with his older brother, Robert, in the army of Maurice of Nassau in the Low Countries, wrote an *Ode pindarique sur la prise de Grave* (re-published by Cohen), visited England, composed a *Stuartide* in honor of James I, to whom he dedicated his play, returned to France, where he was married in 1614. He was a friend of Colletet, Ogier, and other younger writers and under their influence brought his *Tyr et Sidon* up to date. Later he returned to military life, fought in the French army in Germany, was wounded in 1635, and died at his château. Cf. the articles of Cohen and Samaran in *R. H. L.*, 1920, 1921, 1928.

(3) Cited by Haraszti, *op. cit.*, p. xviii.

(4) *Ancien Théâtre français*, Paris, Jannet, 1856, VIII, 225.

Ma rudesse vaut bien vos modernes douceurs.
 J'ay quelques mots grossiers, quelques rymes peu riches,
 Mais jamais grand terroir ne se trouva sans friches :
 Je vois clocher Virgile, Homère sommeiller.
 Chaque'un fait ce qu'il peut, en vers comme à la dance ;
 Mais, le bal estant long, il faut tant travailler
 Que les meilleurs danseurs y sortent de cadence.

These are not the words of a reformer, but of an older man, trying to keep step with the next generation and seeking to defend his deficiencies. He is here concerned with style rather than with the structure of his play, for in the latter respect he adapted himself well enough to the younger generation, except that he introduced more vulgarity and a larger comic element into his work than they did.

The new play, written in two *journées* of five acts each, was published at Paris by Robert Estienne in 1628¹. The chorus is eliminated. The ending is made happy to suit the new title of tragi-comedy. The *récits* of the old play are expanded into five acts and called the first *journée*, while the play of 1608 remains, with certain changes, as the *seconde journée*. The comic element had been very slight in the play of 1608. It is now very much emphasized and accompanied by a great deal that is indecent. The introduction of these elements into the tragi-comedy is not new, but one seldom finds them so conspicuous. Indeed, feeling that he had somewhat overstepped the bounds of propriety, the editor persuaded the author to prepare a note that would show how the play might be cut down for the benefit of those who would be shocked by the language of certain scenes and who might not be able to pay for all the scenery and properties indicated.

The play is also preceded by the famous preface of F. O. P. (François Ogier, Parisien), who states that it was his praise of *Tyr et Sidon* that had convinced Schelandre that it was worth giving to the public anew and implies that the latter had been polishing it for many years. He defends this new edition against the learned and against the new school of poets. The former held to the strictest following of the Greek and Roman plays as to time, the use of messengers and *récits*, the exclusion of the comic and of bloodshed from tragedy. They did not allow even the subsequent interpretation of the unity of time that allowed a play to cover parts of two days and the night that elapsed between. Ogier demands greater freedom on the ground of verisimilitude, in order to give pleasure.

(1) 8°. Reprinted in the edition quoted in the last note.

and to follow the example of certain ancient plays. He objects to the chorus, the *récit*, the messenger, allows bloodshed and favors the tragi-comedy, imported from Italy, with its mixture of grave and gay.

To the second class of critics his reply is much briefer and resembles Racan's defense of his *Bergeries* to Malherbe. " Il y a bien de la difference d'une chanson et d'un sonnet à la description d'une bataille ou de la furie d'un esprit transporté de quelque passion violente." The rest of his apology amounts to no more than sarcastic references to " quelques esprits foibles et envieux d'à present " and to praise of Schelandre.

The document gives evidence of the interest that is taken in the theater by the learned and the fact that the new generation has thought about its art sufficiently to make possible such a reply. When Asselineau rediscovered Schelandre about the middle of the last century, the Romantic movement was still recent enough for the literary to see in Ogier's preface a sort of earlier *Préface de Cromwell*, especially as the doctrines of the two works are much alike, but, while Hugo ushered in Romantic tragedy with his manifesto, Ogier merely gave an apology for a system that had long been popular. As a critical document, it had been preceded both in Italy and in Spain¹. The plays of Hardy, Mairet's *Chryséide*, Théophile's *Pyrame*, etc. furnished examples that preceded his ruling. Few dramatists in the seventeenth century had respected the unity of time, few had felt obliged to refrain from bloodshed on the stage. The chorus had been eliminated except in one or two pieces. Most of the plays show comic elements along with elements of tragedy. The general tendency since the sixteenth century had been towards the substitution of action for recitation and the nameless messenger of the Greeks had become exceedingly rare. Ogier's document was not, like Hugo's, an appeal for a new type of dramatic composition. It was a defense of the prevailing type of play against those who would change it in the name of the ancients. It is, therefore, a conservative rather than a reforming treatise in its opposition to the learned. It is also conservative, almost reactionary, in its opposition to the reformers of style and vocabulary. To these Schelandre made concessions, as a comparison of the text of the two editions of his play shows, but his verse still remained less polished than that of his young rivals, and closer to the speech of the

(1) Especially in the *Discorsi* (1554) of Giralaldi, *Il Verato* (1588) and *Il Verato secondo* (1593) of Guarini (cf. F. H. Ristine, *English Tragi-Comedy*, pp. 31-44) and in the *Arte Nuevo de hacer comedias* (1609) of Lope de Vega.

sixteenth century. It is true that he eliminates hiatus ¹ and changes " de mes ports brise-flots " to " du thresor de mes ports, ² " but he keeps " l'acier porte-tempestes, " " ce domte-geant ", " cavesson " " maudissons " (as a noun), " j'endève ", " ricasser ", " maupiteux ³ ", and the extraordinary line, which neither Théophile nor any of his descendants ever equaled for verbal *préciosité* :

O mer, amere mere à la mere d'Amour ⁴.

While he abandons the chorus, he keeps several examples of stichomythia ⁵ and even the nameless messenger with his récit (2 j., V, 4) whom Ogier condemned, also more classical allusions and more indecency than are found in the younger generation ⁶.

The ending of the play is quite different from that of the earlier edition, in which Méliane is burned to death, the news of her innocence comes too late, her father goes mad and is killed by an attendant he had attacked. The changes, however, are not in the direction of verisimilitude. Ogier objects to the unity of time because, in order to keep it, there had to be many chance meetings. How then

(1) For instance, *qui or* (l. 413 of 1608 ed.) becomes *qui me*. Cf. also lines 885 2611, 3014, 3015.

(2) Ed. of 1608, p. 40 ; of 1628, p. 148.

(3) Ed. of 1628, pp. 45, 78, 38, 44, 53, 56.

(4) L. 2764 (ed. of 1608).

(5) Ed. of 1628, pp. 55-56, 114, 158, 169, etc.

(6) The first *journée* is largely concerned with the affairs of Léonte, Prince of Tyre, who does not appear in the earlier work, though his deeds are there mentioned in *réçits*. In a war between Tyre and Sidon, the son of each king is captured by the other. Léonte profits by the liberty allowed him by the peace-loving king of Sidon to develop an intrigue with the young wife of a wealthy old man, who, in revenge, has him killed by soldiers he hires. Meanwhile Belcar, the captured Sidonian prince, has won the love of Cassandre and Méliane, daughters of the king of Tyre, and has fallen in love with Méliane. The story is continued in the second *journée*, which is a reworking of the edition of 1608. The king of Tyre condemns Belcar to death in order to avenge the murder of his son. Méliane prevails upon her nurse to procure his freedom by winning over the captain of the guard. This she does and arranges for him to escape by boat. Méliane plans to meet him on the seashore, but, moved by Cassandre's tears and talk of suicide, the nurse substitutes the latter, veiled, for Méliane and Belcar does not discover the treachery until he is well out to sea. Then he draws a dagger and threatens Cassandre with it, but throws it down and takes to a rowboat. In despair Cassandre stabs herself and leaps into the sea. Her body is washed up near the spot where Méliane, believing that Belcar has deserted her for her sister, is contemplating suicide. Fishers rob the body, but run off on hearing Méliane's voice. The latter recognizes her sister and is taking the dagger out of her body in order to stab herself when she is seen by her father, who arrests her, charges her with murder, and has her condemned to death. But before the execution can take place, the nurse, then Belcar, then an embassy from Sidon arrive, all is explained, the lovers are reunited, and there will be peace and union between the two cities. The nurse and the old man who had caused the death of Léonte are put to death in order to satisfy the king's idea of justice.

could he defend a play in which one sister is taken by the tide and the fishermen to the exact spot where the other is contemplating suicide and where she is joined by her father just at the moment when she is drawing the dagger from her sister's body? Other conventional devices are assassination, abduction, disguise, overheard conversations. On the other hand, there are scenes of psychological struggle, especially one in which the nurse (2 j., I, 5) tries to decide between the two sisters :

Quelle route prends-tu ? D'une ou d'autre partie
Te voilà de Charybde ou de Scyllé engloutie,

and one in which Méliane finds that (2 j., III, 1) :

Il faut, ô desespoir ! que je sois déclarée
Ou desloyale amante ou sœur desaturée.

It should be noted, however, that the struggle given to the prison captain in the edition of 1608 (III, 7) is omitted in the edition of 1628. The comic element is greatly developed in this later edition. The usual resource of the farce, a quarrel between husband and wife, is introduced into the second act of the first *journée*. Old Zorote tells his wife how she should employ her time in a way that would have delighted Molière's Chrysale :

Tantost mettre nos vins et nos froments en vente,
Tailler de la besogne à chacune servante ;
Tantost faire causer vos perroquets mignons,
Faire jouer, sauter, vos chiens et vos guenons,
Et quelquefois aussi fucilleter un bon livre :
Voilà comme en honneur la matrone doit vivre (p. 54).

Other comic scenes are furnished by the drunkenness of Zorote and the introduction of a page into his house disguised as a *courtisane*. Here the dialogue becomes obscene.

Most of the characters are conventional enough. Haraszti admires Cassandre, but she is not presented to us dramatically, for she speaks chiefly in monologue and is never shown on the stage with Belcar. His love of peace serves to differentiate the King of Sidon from the blustering King of Tyre. The source of the play has never been satisfactorily established. Haraszti raises objections to Droz's proposal that it is based on the *Franciade*, though he admits that there are a good many likenesses, for Francus is loved by King Dircée's two daughters, who have a brother captured by the

enemy ; one of the daughters commits suicide for jealousy of the other and a nurse plays a rôle like that of the nurse in *Tyr et Sidon*. He points out minor resemblances between the original form of the play and some contemporary tragedies. I would add that the first *journée* with its disastrous effort at seduction is not unlike Hardy's *Lucrèce*, that the new motif which brings in the fishermen may be an imitation of the fishers who find the body of Damon in the *Astrée*, and that the happy ending with the contest in generosity between the lovers and the final pardon by the king may have come from the episode of Chryséide in the same book or from Mairet's play of the same name.

Whatever be the value of these comparisons, they show that Schelandre was in touch with the general dramatic movement of his times, though his age and his military life kept him from making common cause with the younger generation. He made a distinct contribution to the drama of his time, but his one play, still reminiscent of the preceding century, could not be so important an influence as the work of younger men like Du Ryer and Rotrou. It is, perhaps, unfortunate that they did not get more profit from the example of some of his homely comparisons or poetic flights :

Si vous faut-il brouter où vous estes lié (1 j., II, 3)...

Or, le bon medecin dès son abord n'essaye

La scie et le rasoir sur la nouvelle playe (2 j., II, 7) .

Chers joyaux, dont la nuit pare son voile sombre

D'un meslange subtil de lumière dans l'ombre ;

Beaux caractères d'or, où les doctes esprits

Trouvent tous nos destins lisiblement escrits ;

Bluettes du soleil, que j'ayme vostre flamme,

Puis qu'elle a tel rapport à celle de mon ame !

Vous paroissez de nuit et vous cachez de jour

(Mais tousjours sans repos) : ainsi fait mon amour (1 j., V, 4).

While Schelandre was thus able to adapt himself partially to newer fashions, others retained the spirit of the sixteenth century, or even of the middle ages. They are to be found, not among writers for the popular stage, but in the schools. An example is the author of RICHECOURT, " trage-comédie, represantée par les pensionnaires des Rr. pères Bénédictins de S. Nicolas, 1628 ", printed at Saint-Nicolas-de-Port the same year, and reprinted at Nancy in 1860 (Librairie Wiener).¹ The play is anonymous, but from references

(1) According to the editor, only two copies of the original could be found, one owned by Soleinne (Cf. *Soleinne*, no. 1031), the other by the public library of Nancy.

to the *Séquaniens* and Besançon the editor concludes that the author was Dom Simplicien Gody, a monk who was born at Ornans, Doubs, and died at Besançon in 1662, one of whose *odes sacrées* deals with the same subject as the play and who published a Latin tragedy, *Humbertus*, at Paris in 1632¹. His editor suggests that he was teaching at the Benedictine *collège* of Saint-Nicolas when the play was acted by students of that institution, pointing out that he afterwards held a similar position at Dôle.

Neither in the structure of his play, nor in his style does the pious author give any evidence of acquaintance with contemporary plays. There are medieval elements, not only in the miraculous subject, but in the use of allegorical figures, Death, Peace, Fate, and the Furies. To the theater of the Renaissance and his knowledge of the classics are due his use of a prologue before each act, an epilogue, a chorus, a large number of monologues and classical allusions, an antiquated vocabulary², and a failure to number the scenes. The verse shows many examples of hiatus and the author clings inappropriately to the echo, which was disappearing from contemporary plays³. The fact that about one sixth of the play is written in Latin shows the influence of the school plays of the day.

The subject chosen for the edification of the students and the delectation of the primate of Lorraine, to whom the play is dedicated, was both religious and patriotic, for it concerns the deeds of a local saint. According to the *argument* Richecourt accompanied Mathieu II of Lorraine on a crusade in 1240, but was captured and imprisoned by the Turks when the duke's army was defeated. The knight subsequently tells how for four years⁴

J'ay ployé soubz le faix d'un si dur esclavage,
Que ces nombreux mal-heurs ont neigé tout mon aage.
Là oncques ie n'ay veu qu'en idée le vin,
Le pain bis par mesure, et les brocards sans fin.

The new edition included only 101 copies, of which one is at the Bib. Nat. and another at the Johns Hopkins University. I criticized this play briefly in my *French Tragi-Comedy*, pp. 92, 93, 100.

(1) The editor gives 1633, but the copy in the Bib. Nat. is dated 1632. This Latin play was acted at Paris "in collegio Cluniacensium benedictino."

(2) Such expressions as *gaigne-lauriers*, *porte-carquois*, *ja*, *meshuy*, *bril* are of frequent occurrence.

(3) The fact that he gives the rime "Liban : Turban" (p. 9), must be attributed to the geography and costume of his characters rather than to an imitation of Malherbe, though Théophile twits his younger contemporaries with their use of this rime when they imitate Malherbe ("Élégie à une dame", *Œuvres*, Alleaume edition, Paris, Jannet, 1856, I, 218).

(4) *Richecourt*, p. 67.

Finally he appealed to Saint-Nicolas, who soon transported him, chains and all, to his own land and set him down before the door of the chapel " du Prieuré au Bourg de S. Nicolas de Port. " The doors opened to him of their own accord and the chains fell off without human intervention. Indeed the chains are reported by Gody to be still there, to attest the veracity of his play !

As there is in this tale more subject for moral instruction than for dramatization, the author fills out his five acts by adding the lamentations of the Christians before the arrival of the Duke of Lorraine, the preparations of the Turks for the battle that takes place on the stage, a chorus and prologue for each act, conversations between allegorical characters, and a curious episode in which death spares an old man who desires to die and takes one who longs to live. The first two acts contain neither action nor interest. In the third there is a lively battle scene which recalls those of the *intermèdes* in the *Amantes* of Chrétien des Croix, after which the Christians bury their dead comrades and a Fury those of the Turks. The fourth act is the most important from a dramatic point of view, for in it Richecourt at last acts and the saint appears. The fifth act constitutes a sort of epilogue, since we know that Richecourt is safe as soon as it begins, but further miracles must be heaped up and we must witness the astonishment of prior, sacristan, and locksmith, of whom the latter cries :

O Dieu ! ô Nicolas ! pour vn si bon affaire,
Ma lime, mon marteau, mon mestier ne vaut guere.
Dieu ! quel esclat voyla d'vne masse de fer
Qui pourroit bien tenir tous les Diables d'enfer.

Not only is unity lacking, but the author shows no idea of developing a plot or drawing a character. His style is rough and without art. He is more entertaining in the episode of Death and the old men than elsewhere, for, though the moral is obvious, the scene gives the only comic passage in the play and furnishes an interesting example of the " grotesque " that might have delighted Hugo for other reasons than the tribute paid to his birthplace. The " second vieillard " argues with Death as follows :

	Ouy dea, et si c'est du vin de Bezaçon, Et si i'ay de bon pain fourny le besaçon. Au reste si ie vay à droite, tire à gauche.
Mort :	Dea ! i'ay rencontré vn vieillard en desbauche.
2 Vieill. :	Ie ne suis pas si vieil, n'estant point soustenu D'aucun noüeux baston.

His play had, however, formed a part of the repertory of the Hôtel de Bourgogne several years after it was printed, for it figures in the *Mémoire de Mahelot* under the title of "Mélite," though without its author's name. The notice of the play contained in this *Mémoire* was long supposed to refer to Corneille's *Mélite*, then to Corneille's *Illusion comique*, but in my edition of Mahelot¹ I showed that there can be no doubt about the fact that the play referred to is Rampale's *Bélinde*, one of whose heroines is named Mélite, as we shall see. As the play could bear one name quite as well as the other, it seems probable that the title was changed in order that the Hôtel de Bourgogne might have a *Mélite* to oppose to Corneille's play of that name, which had been acted since 1630 by a rival troupe.

The plot is complex, including the story of Mélite and Arimand and that of Bélinde and Polydor besides the episode of the king's love for the latter, whom he believes to be a girl, and of the magician who falls in love with Mélite. The romantic devices used are an elopement, magic, a double disguise, and a battle, won by the hero's prowess². The plot seems derived partly from the anonymous *Mort de Bradamante*, discussed above in the fourth chapter, and partly from Barclay's *Argenis*, which also served as a source for Du Ryer's *Argenis*. Rampale's first act is quite close to the account in the *Mort de Bradamante* of the monk who finds the lovers sleeping together, falls in love with the girl, and succeeds in separating her from the man, but not in carrying out his purpose. Polydor's falling in love, his courtship in disguise as a girl, his ultimate victory

(1) Pp. 21-25, 77.

(2) Mélite, daughter of the King of Armenia, elopes at night with her lover, Arimand. Lost in the forest, they fall asleep in each other's arms. There they are discovered by an aged magician, who falls in love with Mélite and, in order to possess her, conjures up a demon who takes her form and thus lures away the young lover. When he makes love to the girl, however, she sees through his treachery and attacks him so violently that he allows her to escape. Polydor, Prince of Crete, has fallen in love with Bélinde, Princess of Cyprus, from a description made of her by one of his attendants. He sets sail for the latter island, disguises himself as a girl, and succeeds both in being received in her father's palace and in winning her affections without her learning that he is a man. Mélite, disguised as a man, is also well received at the Cretan court and a comic situation arises, for the old king, falling in love with the supposed girl, sends the supposed knight to win her for him, while Bélinde, who thinks Polydor is a girl and Mélite a man, sends the former with a love message to the latter. Polydor, however, by overhearing a monologue, learns Mélite's sex, while the latter is unwilling to betray one whom she takes to be a girl. In the midst of these intrigues, the king of Armenia makes war upon Bélinde's father. The king marches off to meet the enemy, taking the disguised Mélite with him. She, however, soon returns to the palace and exchanges her armor for Polydor's dress, as soon as the latter learns there is fighting to be done. He rallies the Cretan troops, rescues the king, and defeats the enemy. This brings the solution of the plot, for not only is he given Bélinde as a reward for his heroism, but in the battle he captures a knight, who turns out to be no other than Arimand, and unites him to Mélite.

and marriage are much like similar incidents in *Argenis*. There are references (III, 1 and I, 3) to Ariosto's Roger and to Tasso's Armide. The author's knowledge of geography might be questioned, since the King of Armenia is said to have "passé la frontiere" (IV, 2) of Cyprus, except that he elsewhere (V, 1) calls Cyprus an island.

Rampale understands the art of preparation, especially in dealing with Bélinda, who is shown to be unconsciously in love with Polydor long before she learns that he is a man¹. Her feeling for the man she takes Mélite to be is only a passing fancy. The language of the play is occasionally antiquated or trivial². Hiatus is fairly common³. The comic element lies chiefly in the situations due to disguise and in the thwarting of elderly love. Like *Tartuffe* the magician recommends the love of older men :

Dans cest aage fougueux les hommes aueuglez
N'ont point de mouuemens qui ne soient desreglez,
Leur sang tumultueux excite vne manie
Trop viste commencee, et trop soudain finie :
Mais la vraye douceur se trouue en nos amours⁴

A satirical passage is found in III, 1, when Polydor declares that

... un simple Gentilhomme
Qu'à peine ses voisins sçauront comme il se nomme,
S'il aborde la Cour d'un Royaume estranger,
Se dira fils de Mars, ou nepveu de Roger.

A broadly comic conversation is given in IV, 1, when Polydor, still disguised as a girl, pretends to fear violence from the king and Bélinda seeks to reassure him with

... Ne crains point ma mignonne,
Je te ferois plustost coucher avecque moy,

to which he replies sincerely,

Je l'aimerois bien mieux que d'estre aupres du Roy.

(1) Cf. especially II, 3, and IV, 1.

(2) I, 1, "chair poupine", "prou de temps"; I, 3, "il sera camus"; II, 3, "droit que ie t'ay veüe"; IV, 2, "La honte sur sa face accommencea de naistre."

(3) I, 2, 3, II, 1, 3, III, 1, 2, IV, 1, 2, 3, V, 1, 2, 3.

(4) I, 3.

Certain verses in the play must have met with Corneille's approval, for an often quoted line from the *Cid*¹ is not unlike (II, 1)

... la victoire
Qui s'acquiert sans trauail n'apporte point de gloire,

and a sentiment that Corneille was to make famous is expressed in the couplet (II, 3) :

Qui veut estre bon Roy doit commencer par luy,
Et regner sur soy-mesme auant que sur autruy.

In this scene various political ideas are expressed, not only the commonplace, found in Mairet's *Sylvie*, that it is necessary for a king to have an heir, and which Rampale puts quaintly enough (II, 3) :

Le plus simple berger n'eust-il qu'un chalumeau
En veut faire heritier quelqu'un de son hameau,

but observations even with regard to taxation (II, 3) :

Il y faut seulement maintenir la iustice,
Honorér la vertu, faire punir le vice,
Soulager vos vassaux des impôts superflus :
Car la source tarie elle ne coule plus.
Faites des plus prudents un Conseil ordinaire,
Soyez d'accez facile, et d'humeur debonnaire².

Finally it should be noted that Rampale follows Théophile in his ability to express the passion of young lovers, notwithstanding his *préciosité*, and to give it a setting in a landscape. This is particularly true of the opening scene of the play, from which I take the following charming description of twilight :

Laissant encore un peu de lueur claire et brune,
Dont la foible clarté monstroît à mes regards
L'ombre, qui s'estendoit desia de toutes parts,
Et croissant tout à coup, me laissoit à grand peine
Discerner la couleur de la riue prochaine
Je ne voyois plus rien que le choc des roseaux,
Et l'esclat d'une estoille au beau milieu des eaux.

(1) II, 2 : A vaincre sans péril, on triomphe sans gloire.

(2) Cf. also, III, 2, a word of realistic politics :

Ce qu'on remonstre aux Roys doit estre sans tesmoins.

This feeling for the picturesque does not characterize the next author to be discussed, but he is in other respects a much more important dramatist than Rampale. André Mareschal, a lawyer, native of Lorraine, is best known as a playwright, though he also composed lyric verse¹ and two novels². He may have been librarian in 1632 to Gaston d'Orléans³. His nine plays include works in all four *genres* and are not without importance⁴, as we shall see, in the history of the theater, more especially of comedy. His first play, *LA GÉNÉREUSE ALLEMANDE*⁵, gives evidence of his preference for the unusual in the fact that it is written in two *journées*, like *Tyr et Sidon*, Du Ryer's *Argénis*, and two plays by Hardy, and that it is based, if we may believe the author's statement, on events in the lives of persons belonging to the generation that preceded his own, the triumph of whose love is Mareschal's main theme, as the subtitle of the play indicates. In the argument he tells us that his hero is Louys du Castellet, Baron de Cirey⁶, who had distinguished himself in Polish and Hungarian wars and become a favorite of Maximilian, King of Poland and brother of the Emperor Rudolph⁷. The heroine is Ursule Rudes de Collemberg, who belonged to a famous Franconian family, distinguished herself as an Amazon, and married the baron de Cirey. The names are changed to Aris-tandre and Camille and the story of their love affair is given "parmy d'agreables et diuerses feintes." Just what proportion of the story is due to the author's invention is hard to determine, but there must be a basis of fact, as well as a considerable addition of romantic episodes invented by the author or borrowed from literary tradition⁸.

(1) Published in 1626 and 1627 by Toussaint du Bray. Cf. Lachèvre, *Bib. Rec.* I, 237, 238.

(2) *La Chrysolite* (1626) and *Le Portrait de la jeune Alcidiande* (1644).

(3) Cf. *Archives des affaires étrangères*, 1632, t. LV, f° 538. I owe this information to Mr. L. E. Durel. For Mareschal's interest in Molière's troupe cf. H. Chardon, *M. de Modène, ses deux femmes et Madeleine Béjart*, Paris, 1886.

(4) Besides the *Généreuse Allemande*, he wrote *l'Inconstance d'Hylas* (acted 1630, pub. 1635), *La Sœur valeureuse* (pub. 1634), *Le Railleur* (acted about 1635; pub. 1637), *Le Véritable Capitan Matamore ou le Fanfaron* (acted in 1637 or 1638, pub. early in 1640), *La Cour bergère ou l'Arcadie de Messire Philippes Sidney* (pub. early in 1640), *Le Mausolée* (written about 1638, acted in 1640, pub. 1642), *Le Jugement équitable de Charles le Hardy* (pub. 1645) and *Papyre* (pub. 1646). Mr. L. E. Durel has written a dissertation on this author which, accepted by the faculty of the Johns Hopkins University in 1928, will be published shortly.

(5) Paris, Pierre Rocolet, 1631, 8°; *priv.*, Sept. 1, *achevé*, Nov. 8, 1630. The first *journée* is dedicated to Puylaurent, governor of Amboise, the second to M. de Launay.

(6) He must have been an ancestor, or at least a relative of the husband of Voltaire's friend. Cf. also below, p. 730, for de Cirey.

(7) Rudolph II, emperor from 1576 to 1611.

(8) In the first *journée* the hero is torn between his desire to linger at Prague with Camille and a call to arms presented by a Polish colonel, Adraste. He finally decides to accompany the latter, who has also fallen in love with Camille, but conquers this feeling as unworthy of his friendship. In the last three acts the scene is

It is possible that the disguise as a mason and the fact that the hero is saved by the intervention of a ruler at the suggestion of the heroine may come from Mateo Alemán's *Guzmán de Alfarache*, a novel from which Hardy drew his lost *Ozmin* at about this time ¹. The hero has by no means the constancy of the romantic lover. He has already been interested in a "petite Hongroise" (I j., I, 3) and, though so desperately devoted to Camille that he can say (I j., I, 2),

De Roy ie n'ay qu'Amour ; de deuoir que sa loy,

we soon find him swearing eternal devotion to Roseline (I j., III, 2). Yet, as soon as Camille reappears, she wins him back. To him is attributed, in short, what is called (I j., II, 1) "la liberté de vostre humeur françoise." Camille, on the other hand, is a model of fidelity as well as a person of endless resources. After playing a somewhat subordinate rôle in the first *journée*, she dominates the action throughout the second. Whether she is destroying compromising documents by reducing them to pulp in hot water, or disguising herself as a "Valet portant le tablier et la truelle de masson ²," procuring the emperor's intervention and that of an armed force, or fighting in man's attire, she well deserves to have the play named for her. The other characters include the faithful friend, the

laid in or near the town of Aule (Öls) in Silesia, where the duchess, Roseline, has won the affections of Aristandre, though he still thinks of Camille. He hesitates, however, to make Roseline his mistress and again goes off to war after repelling the advances of the duke's sister, Cloriande, who avenges herself by reporting to her brother his wife's unfaithfulness and having her imprisoned. A certain Vachles, former lover of Cloriande, comes to court as ambassador from Brunswick and, finding that Aristandre is his successful rival, makes an attack upon him when he returns to Aule, but is killed in the fight that ensues. Aristandre is besieged in a house by the citizens of the town until Camille arrives, dressed in armor, and persuades them to allow Aristandre to remain in the house till she has seen the duke.

In the second *journée*, Roseline, who had given her wedding ring to Aristandre, is forced to confess her guilt when this ring, entrusted by the hero to his page, reaches the duke's hands. She narrowly escapes death and is placed in a dungeon. Aristandre is confined in another and one of his followers is put to death. Camille, however, through her uncle, who has great influence at court, obtains a pardon for Aristandre from the emperor and papers that forbid his punishment. As the duke is still determined on vengeance, she sends for Adraste and with the help of Ménipe, who pretends to be crazy, makes such preparations that he has no difficulty in capturing the city when he marches against it. Before he comes, she gets in touch with Aristandre by bribing his jailer and disguising herself as a mason's apprentice. She also outwits the guards that are sent to her house by going on a hunger strike. After the capture of the town, Aristandre and Camille are reunited, the duke is persuaded to take back his wife and his duchy, when he learns that Roseline has not been Aristandre's mistress and that the latter is to marry Camille. The important characters that remain, Adraste and Cloriande, are disposed of by a hastily arranged marriage.

(1) Cf. Rigal, *Alexandre Hardy*, pp. 549-551.

(2) 2 j., II, 4.

disappointed and vengeful "amoureuse", the sullen duke, who believes his wife has betrayed him. Especially worthy of note are the comic rôle of Ménipe and an attack upon physicians that is interesting to students of Molière, especially in view of the latter's association with Mareschal. We have first a scene of diagnosis (2 j., III, 1) in which the doctor declares that

Cela prouient, Madame,
De certaines humeurs qui luy surchargent l'ame,
Qui tiennent son esprit à leur force suiét,
Luy font des passions presque de chèque obiét...

Then the patient enters with a bleeding leg, falls, raves, pretends to be in Hades, finally sleeps in a chair with "mille grimaces et mille postures ridicules, qui ressemblent à des conuulsions." When the physician goes out to get him a healing drink, he awakes, crying

O ! le plaisant Docteur ! hé Dieu ! qui n'en riroit ?

The malady is feigned in order to enable Ménipe to prepare for the coming of Adraste, but the physician diagnoses and prescribes, much as Sganarelle was to do a generation later.

The introduction of a picture, "pendu à la Tapisserie," on which comment is made (1 j., IV, 5), is also interesting, as we find the same theme used a few years later in Durval's *Agarite*. The ring episode may have come from a real event or be connected with the tradition that was to play an important part in La Calprenède's *Comte d'Essex*. The following passage may have been inspired by *Pyrame*¹, though, of course, the idea is a general one (1 j., IV, 5) :

Je suis ialoux du vent, et de vostre miroir...
Le musc en son odeur, et le vol d'une mouche
Me dérobent vn bien, s'ils vont iusques à vous,
Le son de vostre luth me rend mesme ialoux.

In the second scene of the following act the line

Ma Sœur, que ie puis dire au vray mon seul appuy

suggests the opening line of Théophile's letter to his brother,

(1) IV, 1, beginning :

Mais je me sens ialoux de tout ce qui te touche,
De l'air qui si souvent entre et sort par ta bouche.

Mon frere mon dernier appuy,

while a line at the beginning of the play,

Le Soleil pour la voir seulement luit au Monde.

recalls *Pyrame*, IV, 1 :

Je croy qu'à ton sujet le soleil fait le jour.

The structure is quite loose. The chief interest shifts from the hero to the heroine. The rôle of Vachles is largely superfluous. A number of the scenes do little to advance the action. The stage must have shown a park at Prague, a palace, a room with a "cabinet", a prison room with a dungeon, a street scene in Aule, a place near Aule, a "chambre tendue de noir", a house with a wall beside it, and the city walls. The author has paid a good deal of attention to his stage-directions, notably in 1 j., V, 3, just before the fight between the hero and Vachles takes place : " Ils tournent d'un costé derriere le Theatre et Vachles, et les Siens s'auacent de l'autre... Ils sortent après eux du mesme costé du Theatre et les autres r'entrent par l'autre ", an interesting method of enlarging the stage. Again in 2 j., II, 2, the jailer leads the hero " du cachot sur le Theatre où est représentée vne Sâle " ; in 2 j., V, 1, " il se fait vn grand tintamarre de Trompettes et de Tambours, ils tournent derriere le Theatre du costé du Chasteau, et l'on n'en entend que le bruit ", after which the duke enters, " tout en chemise ", and his sister appears on the city walls, then " descend sur le Theatre par derriere la tapisserie. "

While Mareschal retains lengthy monologues¹ in alexandrine couplets, he also shows that he is ready for innovations in form, not only by introducing two lyric monologues (2 j., IV, 1, 8), but by giving the second of them the title, *stances*. The term had been applied, long before, to a type that existed outside the drama and the lyric monologue had been used for some years in plays, but now for the first time we find the title given to this special dramatic form². This fact gives to Mareschal an additional claim to originality.

According to Mareschal, his play met with considerable success. When he published it, Rotrou and Du Ryer wrote complimentary verses that were printed with it. That it excited a certain amount of discussion is shown by the lengthy preface that stands at the

(1) The one that begins the play covers 6 pages !

(2) It had been used a few months before in *Argénis et Poliarque*, but there it had not been applied to a monologue.

head of the second *journée*, in which for the first time all three unities are mentioned in France ¹.

After admitting that his play does not follow them, since the action is double and takes place both in Bohemia and in Silesia and in a greater space of time than can be described as "entre deux Soleils", he insists that his error is "ingenieuse et préméditée", for he had not wished to lose any of the "effets que la sévérité des règles m'eust obligé de couper". He argues that, as his subject is modern, true, and chosen for a French audience, he is excused from following the ancients and then attacks the latter on the ground that they admitted such absurdities as the oracle, the *deus ex machina*, and the sorceress. Moreover, while they love to have events related, the modern author "veut toujours agir dans les diversitez, qui pourroient ennuyer si elles n'estoient que simplement racontées." He boasts that the stage has become "le divertissement le plus beau des François, et le plus honneste et le plus subtil des Italiens." Terror and pity belong to tragedy, but the tragi-comedy, invented by the Italians, with its happy ending, is better suited to the "délicatesse" of his own day and appears to him to be "la perfection" of older genres. In support of his contention about form he then mentions the *Pastor fido* and the *Filli di Sciro*, each of which has two actions, and the preface to *Tyr et Sidon*, in which the irregularity of certain Greek plays is set forth. Next he "tire le rideau sur les Grecs pour en venir aux Latins" and declares that there are two actions in Seneca's *Agamemnon*, *Troades*, and *Hippolytus*, that there would be in the *Thebaid* if he had fully treated his subject, and that *Hercules Œtneus* would be better if Seneca had not attempted to preserve the unity of place; *Thyestes*, if he had neglected that of time, while he finds a violation of the latter unity in *Amphitryon*. On the contrary, "nous autres prenons du lieu du temps et de l'action, ce qu'il nous en faut pour le faire curieusement, et pour le dénouer avecque grace, en surprenant les esprits par des accidens, qui sont hors d'attente et non point hors d'apparence: eux ne le démêlent point, ils le couppent." His ideal would be the dramatization of the life of Alexander, now fighting Darius, now lamenting over him, both continent and brave, conquering all Persia, and finally making of Babylon his tomb ², for action belongs to the theater as does description to history or the epic.

This protest against the introduction of the unities is a more

(1) Cf. below, p. 378.

(2) One might think he has A. Hardy's plays on Alexander in mind except that in one of them the hero is in love.

searching, though a less famous document than Ogier's preface to *Tyr et Sidon*. It adds to the importance of the publication, but the tragi-comedy itself deserves recognition as the result of an effort to dramatize recent events, and the first play in which the title, *stances*, is applied to a monologue in lyric form. The division into two *journées*, the great attention to stage setting, the scene that satirizes the practice of medicine are also noteworthy. Despite its great irregularity and abuse of the monologue, the play promised well for its young author. He needed, however, a kind of discipline that a less rigid opposition to the new movement might have given him and which he was not to acquire for a number of years.

The list of tragi-comedies is completed by LES ADVANTURES AMOUREUSES D'OMPHALLE ¹, composed by a certain Grandchamp, who declares that everything has been said and that the best writers are those who imitate the Ancients most closely without allowing it to appear. If this was Grandchamp's ideal, he attained at least the concealment of his imitation, for his play resembles far more the *Astrée* than it does any Latin or Greek work. The plot ² is extremely romantic. The suggestion for the druid and his healing a person wounded in a duel and supposed dead may have come from the *Astrée* ³, which also contains a fight between a woman and the man she eventually marries ⁴, a consultation with a sorceress, and, of course, the shepherd disguise and the rescue at the last moment, characteristics that it has in common with many productions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Nowhere, however, in the *Astrée* do we find the moral laxity in an important female character that is found here. One may compare the reception of Arimand by Chryséide ⁵ into her bedchamber, whither he has come with the help

(1) Paris, veuve P. Chevalier, 1630, 8°. Dedication to the king's brother, Gaston d'Orléans.

(2) Polidon, who has seen Daphnis leaving the Princess Omphalle in the early morning after spending the night with her, pretends to her that Daphnis has boasted of having made her his mistress and thus persuades her to approve his challenging him to a duel, for she fears much more to lose her reputation than she had feared for her chastity. But when the duel has been arranged, she persuades him to stay away and herself fights against Daphnis, who does not know that it is she till she removes her helmet after he has wounded her. He thinks he has killed her and makes no resistance when he is arrested, but her wound is not serious and she is restored to health by a druid. Learning from Polidon, now remorseful, and, like herself, temporarily disguised in shepherd's dress, that the man she loves is to be put to death, she hastens to the place of execution and arrives just in time to present herself to her parents, the king and queen, save Daphnis, and marry him. A minor plot concerns a certain Mélinde, whose love is flouted by Polidon. She consults a sorceress and learns from a ghost that her fate is linked with that of Omphalle, as indeed it is, for the latter pardons Polidon only on condition he marry Mélinde.

(3) Cf. the story of Madonte, Part III, Bk. VI. Note that in both a druid is used instead of the usual hermit.

(4) Cf. the story of Lydias and Melandre, Part I, Bk. XII.

(5) Cf. the story of Chryséide, Part III, Bk. VII.

of her attendant, with a similar situation at the beginning of this play, but with radically different results as far as the heroine's virtue is concerned.

The characteristics of the play are much like those of other tragicomedies we have studied. The unities are not observed. The subordinate plot has no influence upon the main plot and chance plays a very considerable part in the dénouement. The characters have no special individuality¹. The author depends on a series of moving or bizarre scenes, picturesque effects, and the facile nature of his style. He makes use of various phases of nature, darkness, dawn, rain, and lightning. Before calling up a ghost to tell the fate of the person who consults her in a scene not unlike that of Saul and the witch of Endor, the sorceress shows her power by darkening the sun and showing moon and stars (III, 5). The scene of the duel and of the projected execution are also spectacular. The form, too, shows not a little variety², for the play includes a letter in prose (V, 1), an oracular message written according to the scheme *ababa* with the fourth line of only 6 syllables (III, 5), a hymn in 8 and 12-syllable verse (V, 3), and a *Dialogue de Polidon avec Melinde* (II, 1) that recalls the dialogue of Palemon and Doris (*Astrée*, Part II, Bk. VIII) and, more closely, that of Philène and Sylvie in Mairet's *Sylvie* (I, 3). It has the same rime scheme as the latter and differs in form only in that every other verse is of six syllables and that the man is disdainful instead of the woman. There are not many verbal resemblances. A few couplets will illustrate the style (II, 1) :

Polidon : Belle ? ie prie le ciel, qu'il vous soit fauorable
 Plus qu'il n'est pas à moy³ :
 Mélinde : Dedaigneux Polidon ? pour m'estre secourable
 N'employe rien que toy.
 Polidon : Si i'employe le ciel, c'est qu'il tient nos desastres
 Avec son mouuement⁴.

(1) Noteworthy is, however, the king's devotion to his daughter, which causes him to point out the possible opposition between his two rôles of king and father (IV, 3) :

La qualité de Roy qui retient ma cholere
 Ne detruit pas en moy les sentimens de Pere,

an idea that was later to be developed in Du Ryer's *Saül*, in Rojas Zorrilla's *No hay ser padre siendo rey*, and its French imitation, the *Venceslas* of Rotrou.

(2) Hiatus is not infrequent and such careless rimes occur as *parestre : dextre : sceptre* (I, 3, IV, 3) ; *borgne : couronne* (IV, 3).

(3) Cf. *Sylvie*, ll. 141, 142 :

Beau sujet.....

Ce iour te soit plus doux et plus heureux qu'à moy ;

note also that the riming line ends with " rien de toy. "

(4) Cf. *Ibid.*, l. 156 :

Si ie suis vn Soleil ie dois tousiours aller.

- Mélinde : Le mien ne depend pas, ny du Ciel, ny des astres :
 Mais de toy seulement...
- Polidon : Aymer sans estre aymee, est manquer de courage,
 Et de ressentiment.
- Mélinde : Adorer ton merite, est rendre tesmoignage,
 Que i'ay du iugement....
- Polidon : Ma veuë ne sert rien, le mepris, et l'absence,
 Vous peuuent seuls guerir.
- Mélinde : P'ay vn plus prompt remede, encore en ma puissance
 C'est de pouuoir mourir.

IV. — Pastoral

Under this heading I include any play that has a considerable pastoral element, whether it be called *fable bocagère*, *pastorale*, *tragi-comédie pastorale*, or even, in two cases, simply *tragi-comédie*, for, while the genre is still in a flourishing condition, a certain dissatisfaction with it has begun to find expression, partly in this disinclination to retain the old title of *pastorale*. One of the earliest of these plays is PALEMON¹, a *fable bocagère* by Frénicle, whose *Niobé* we have already studied. In the preface the author reminds his hero that the latter has remained idle for two years and warns him that he will be severely criticized, for some talk of nothing but the exact following of rules they have never observed or understood, though others will be kind. Had this been written at the time the play appeared, it would be an early piece of evidence as to interest in formal dramatic technique, but in 1632 it had already been preceded by much more detailed accounts of this literary phenomenon. It is also likely that, had the play been written in 1632, Frénicle would have followed Mairet's example and observed the unities, for, as it is, the unities of time and place as Mairet understood them are kept, since the time involved is from dawn to night of a single day and the action never leaves a single forest. There is, moreover, a chorus at the end of each of the first four acts, the versification is correct, and the themes and characters are thoroughly conventional. The irregularity of the plot seems chiefly due to the writer's utter lack of genuine dramatic talent. Unable to develop a theme, he repeats his situations and adds extraneous elements freely².

(1) Paris, Jacques Dugast, 1632, 8° ; *priv.*, Jan. 29, 1629, to Bordeau, who ceded it on July 17 to the author, who subsequently turned it over to Dugast. Long extracts from the play are quoted in the *Bib. du th. fr.*, II, 311-317.

(2) Climène prefers hunting to love, though Aminte and Delon both urge her to accept Palemon and though the latter saves her from a wolf, but finally Amour

The structure is obviously extremely careless and the themes outworn, borrowed from the *Aminta*, the *Astrée*, etc. Not without interest, however, are the location in the Forest of Saint-Germain and the introduction of praise of Louis XIII and Richelieu. The former is referred to in the prologue as the "puissant Daphnis", famous in hunting and in war. There is even an allusion to his Italian campaign in the couplet :

Assez près de ses bords le Po prince des fleuves
En a veu plusieurs fois de memorables preuves,

verses that must have been added after the *privilege* of the play had been obtained, for it was not till March, 1629, that Louis won the fight at the Pas de Suze and his victory of the following year would give greater justification for the allusion. The King is praised again at the end of the play as the defender of the flocks, and next to him is Richelieu, or Cléandre, already recognized as a patron of letters (V, 5) :

Cleandre est après luy ce que plus ie reuere
Nostre art le reconnoist comme vn Dieu tutelaire ;
Il chérit le Parnasse et sauue nos écriis
De l'injuste attentat des profanes espris.

But the chief merit of the play is in its style, for Frénicle's gift was lyric and elegiac rather than dramatic. M. Marsan finds that "la grâce ne manque pas dans le *Palémon* de Frénicle, une grâce un peu molle et fluide, une langueur mélancolique assez pénétrante," and he quotes a score of lines to prove the existence of "cette sorte de lyrisme sans éclat, mais doux et musical et enveloppant¹." Guillaume Colletet had already noted the musical quality of his friend's verse in a complimentary sonnet published at the end of the play. In support of his views I quote a couple of examples of Frénicle's style, a couplet addressed by Aminte to his flute (I, 2),

O petite musette égale à mon courage
L'agréable douceur de ton air de village,

comes and bathes in a spring, whose water, when drunk by Climène, makes her fall in love with Palemon, who, meanwhile, has thrown himself into the Seine, but Climène weeps over his body and kisses him till he returns to consciousness. To this simple theme are added the love of Delon for Ergaste, who finally yields to her pursuit, the love of a sorceress who sends the wolf in order to get rid of her rival, the love of an oxherd for a shepherdess, and the rivalry between Amour and Diane, though, as the latter appears only in the prologue, her presence serves chiefly to typify the attitude of Climène before she is won by Amour.

(1) *Pastorale dramatique*. pp. 400, 401.

and a fragment from one of the choruses (III) :

Accourez troupes bocageres,
Jeunes bergers, ieunes bergeres,
Couronnez Palemon de fleurs...

Like Frénicle, C. S. sieur de la Croix had only a slight dramatic gift and confined his activities to a small number of plays, but circumstances connected with both of his productions make his work of interest to the literary historian. All that we know of him is that he was a lawyer and that he wrote two plays, *La Climène* and *l'Inconstance punie*, and a few poems, one of them addressed to a captain who wished to murder him, another a satire under the influence of Regnier's *Macette* ¹.

The origin of *LA CLIMÈNE*, *tragi-comédie pastorale* ², is interesting, though not very creditable to its author. Paul Ferry, a Protestant pastor of Metz who in 1655 published an attack upon Bossuet's catechism, dallied with the Muses in his youth to the extent of composing a pastoral called *Isabelle*, published at Lyons in 1610. Twenty-four years later he ran across a copy of *Climène* printed at Paris in 1632 and with righteous indignation wrote on a fly leaf :

La plupart de cette *Climène* a été plagiarisée et prise et dérobée de mon *Isabelle*, comme j'ai dit à l'imprimeur étant à Paris en 1634 ; et pour cette cause l'ay acheptay après avoir reconnu le larrecin en y lisant sans y penser : et m'a dit l'imprimeur que le Sr. de la Croix qui s'en dit l'auteur est un avocat.

This copy was discovered by C. E. Jordan, who relates the anecdote in his *Histoire d'un voyage littéraire fait en 1733 en France, en Angleterre et en Hollande*, The Hague, 1735, p. 47. Attention was called to his statement by Goujet ³, Lacroix ⁴, Toinet ⁵, and Marsan ⁶, but only the latter took the trouble to compare the two works and test the truth of the accusation. He found that the resemblance of the first half of the play to *Isabelle* is extremely close as to characters,

(1) For a discussion of these cf. Raymond Toinet, *La Climène et les poésies diverses du sieur de la Croix*, Tulle, Crauffon, 1898, pp. 21-40. Note particularly the list of books belonging to the heroine of the satire.

(2) Paris, Jean Corrozet, 1629, 8° ; *priv.*, Nov. 24, 1628. A copy of this edition is at the Arsenal, B. L. 10816. The copy at the Bib. Nat. contains only the argument. M. Toinet owns a copy from the same press, dated 1631. The copy mentioned by Jordan, as we shall presently see, was dated 1632. *Soleinne*, nos. 1034, 1035, mentions editions, also published by Corrozet, of 1636 and 1637.

(3) XVII, 169.

(4) *Soleinne*, no. 1034.

(5) *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

(6) *Op. cit.*, p. 342.

situations, and even wording¹. "Ce sont les mêmes vers transcrits textuellement ou retouchés à peine." And he cites lines that prove his contention. All he finds that is new is the madness of Liridas, which, as he points out, La Croix could have derived from *Carite* without consulting the *Astrée* or the *Orlando furioso*. M. Marsan adds that in the last half of the play La Croix is more independent, but that he there follows the Sylvanire episode of the *Astrée*. M. Toinet² suggests that the following lines would seem inspired by Maurice Scève or Shakespeare except for the fact that neither of these authors was known in France to writers of La Croix's generation.

L'essence de l'amour qu'on voit en vn sujet
Irrite le desir à chercher son objet,
L'objet esmeut les sens, et les sens font paraistre
L'intellect, l'habitude, et leur cause et leur estre :
La forme suit aussi l'agent qui la conduit,
Et l'agent, le moteur que l'actuel produit :
Aussi voilà pourquoi ce qui est du possible
Ne se mesle jamais dans le concupiscible...

Now we may accept Marsan's conclusion that the play is an imitation of *Isabelle* and the *Astrée*, but it can be shown that the latter novel had greater influence upon *Climène* than he supposed. The second part of the *Astrée*³ (Bk. IX) contains the anecdote of Pantesmon, granted a kiss by Doris as a reward for ridding her of his love-making, and the resultant jealousy of Palemon, who witnesses the kiss, until explanation is made by the woman he loves. This is

(1) Two brothers, princes disguised as the shepherds, Alcidor and Silandre, are in love with Princess Climène, who is disguised as a shepherdess and is supposed to be the sister of the bergère Clorifée. The latter loves Silandre and is loved by a real shepherd, Caliente. Alcidor argues with his brother without their recognizing each other, criticizes court beauties who paint their faces (I, 1), talks with an echo (II, 3). Climène rebukes Clorifée for showing her feelings too clearly. Caliente is so unselfish a lover that he strives to force Silandre to respond to Clorifée's love. Later he attempts suicide, but in both of these efforts he is foiled by Clorifée. Liridas makes unsuccessful love to Climène and is driven mad. A magician gives Silandre a bracelet, supposed to act as a love potion, but when Climène puts it on, she appears to die and is placed in a tomb. The repentant lover, threatening the magician, gets from him a liquid that restores her to life. Climène now grants him a kiss on condition that he leave her, but Alcidor, seeing them kiss, is thrown into a state of despair until Climène has an opportunity to make explanation. A final act is added to bring the madman again on the stage and to end the play with the announcement that Climène is a princess, brought up since she was three years old by the shepherd, Semire. She accordingly weds Alcidor, while Clorifée, learning that Silandre is his brother, resigns herself to marrying a man of her own rank, Caliente. Silandre, who had turned hermit, now decides to return to court with his brother, though, unlike most pastoral lovers, he finds himself, after five acts, still without a mate.

(2) *Op. cit.*, pp. 18, 19. He analyzes the play at some length.

(3) This second part is among the books mentioned in La Croix's satirical poem to which reference has been made.

probably the source of the conclusion of the bracelet episode in *Climène*, which differs from the *Sylvanire* story after the heroine is brought back to life. Moreover, the account of the kiss in the *Astrée* is followed by much argument from Silvandre¹ about the true nature of love, while the chief madman of the novel,Adraste, loses his mind over this same Doris of the kiss episode, as does the rejected lover of *Climène*. La Croix seems then to have used the story of Doris as well as that of *Sylvanire* and it may well be Silvandre's philosophizing that he satirizes in the verses quoted by M. Toinet.

La Croix obviously packs far too many characters into his play and consequently treats their relationships most superficially. He shows little skill in harmonizing the various elements he has borrowed. His verse, which contains many a hiatus, has little to recommend it, though he attempts a song in 8-syllable verse in IV, 1. His chief originality lies in the introduction of the madman for comic effect, especially in the satirical scene I have mentioned and in the farcical dialogue between him and the magician (V, 1) :

Mag. : Tu merite vne chambre aux petites maisons
 Ha le pauvre garçon ! Quel demon te possede ?
 Ton esprit auroit bien besoin d'un bon remede.
 Lir. : Et toy tu as besoin de ce coup de baston.
 Mag. : Hola ! tout beau Berger, ie ne suis pas Pluton,
 Ie t'en iure la foy.
 Lir. : Bon iour donc Radamante...

His other play is more original. It is *L'INCONSTANCE PUNIE*², described as a *tragi-comédie nouvelle*, but deserving classification here on account of its pastoral setting and the fact that most of its characters belong to a shepherd's family, although it is unlike the ordinary pastoral in its series of suicides³. Its importance lies in its connection with the Don Juan legend⁴ and the peculiar form of verse employed. Erante lives with his three daughters in a wood by the sea. He refuses to marry the oldest, Mélanie, to a shepherd

(1) Cf. *Astrée*, ed. of Paris, Somnaville, 1647, II, 670-677.

(2) Paris, Iean Corrozet, 1630, 8°. The *privilege* of March 2 was obtained by "maistre C. S. Sr. de L. C., aduocat en nostre Parlement de Paris." There is a copy of this first edition at the Arsenal. A second edition was brought out by the same editor in 1641. A complimentary poem, signed I. G. D., is probably by I. G. Durval. Another poem shows that the play was also called *Mélanie*.

(3) M. Marsan does not include it in his list of pastorals, although it is quite as much entitled to figure there as *Agimée*, which he gives.

(4) For this relationship as well as a general study of the play, cf. my article in *P. M. L. A.*, XXXVIII (1923), 471-478.

neighbor, Caliris, on account of the latter's poverty, but is glad to accept for a son-in-law a stray gentleman, Clarimant, who takes refuge in his house after a shipwreck. This Don Juan, however, soon abandons Mélanie for the second daughter, Clorise, despite their father's protest. Mélanie is now without a lover, for she has imprudently broken with Caliris while expecting to marry Clarimant and the shepherd has thrown himself into the Seine¹. But, though willing to desert a lover herself, she cannot tolerate fickleness in others. She implores the gods to avenge her on her noble lover, her sister, and her father :

Que ces trois criminels meurent d'un coup de foudre².

Taking no chances, she also persuades her youngest sister, Lozie, to avenge her by winning Clarimant from Clorise. This plan is no sooner suggested than put into execution. Clorise commits suicide when she finds that she has been abandoned and Lozie, stricken with remorse when she sees her corpse, follows her example, as does their father in the next scene. While Mélanie is lamenting over the three bodies which she has found in looking for the remains of Caliris, she hears his voice, finds him lying on the river bank, and obtains his forgiveness. Just then Clarimant appears and this dialogue ensues (V, 4) :

- Caliris : Maudit sois tu des Dieux, execrable parjure,
Que tu sois l'ennemy de toute la nature.
- Clarimant : Et bien ie m'en repens, et me redonne à vous,
Puisque le Destin veut que ie sois vostre espoux.
- Mélanie : Traistre va t'en'ailleurs brusler d'une autre flame
Ie n'ay pas le dessein d'estre iamais ta femme.
- Clarimant : Qui pourroit m'empescher l'effet de ce desir ?
Les Dieux ne pourroient pas retarder mon plaisir
Pour ce beau discoureur qui te tient embrassée,
Il va voir ce que peut mon amour offensée.
- Mélanie : O Dieux ! secourez-nous...

Ici Clarimant est foudroyé, et une Couronne descendant de l'obscurité d'une nuée sur la teste de Caliris, une voix fait entendre ces quatre vers :

Possede Caliris le reste de tes iours
La beauté que tu sers, car le Ciel te la donne,
Et pour auoir esté constant en tes amours
Reçois cette Couronne.

(1) The fact that both the Seine and the sea are near the scene of the play suggests a location near Le Havre, but La Croix has probably no special place in mind and merely selects the Seine because the country round Paris is increasing in popularity. We have just seen a shepherd throw himself into the same stream in *Palemon*.

(2) IV, 1, an example of preparation for the dénouement.

Caliris thanks the gods. Mélanie thinks that she should also have been stricken, but her lover modestly explains that she is spared on his account. So they prepare to bury the bodies and to live happily ever after.

The play is composed of various elements. From the pastoral came the setting, the fact that most of the characters are shepherds and shepherdesses, the description of the beauties of nature made by Clarimant when we first see him, and the attempted suicide of Caliris. The three genuine suicides and the punishment of Clarimant's sins by a thunderbolt belong rather to tragedy. A few passages are distinctly comic and to comedy belong the commentaries on wealth and marriage we find early in the play. Caliris, who is pious and improvident, holds that (I, 1)

Celuy qui est à soy ne cognoist point de maistre
Et pauvre est seulement celuy qui le croit estre.

But the avaricious Erante is unconvinced :

Adieu, i'y penseray, mais tu as beau me dire
Que d'avoir de l'argent c'est souffrir vn martyrre,
Car il n'est rien de tel que d'en avoir vn peu.

Mélanie argues for lovers' rights (I, 2) :

Non, le consentement qui fait le mariage,
Oltre les deux Amans ne veut d'autre tesmoin :
Si le desir du pere est requis par l'usage
C'est pour la bienseance, et non pour le besoin.

Strange to say, free love is condemned and matrimony approved by Clarimant, who, after having always cursed marriage, now holds that, while Cupid's pleasures interfere with high thinking, matrimony (II, 1)

Anime tellement d'un seul esprit deux corps,
Qu'un desir mutuel conspirant à l'enuie
Diminuë beaucoup le chagrin de la vie.

Notwithstanding these views and the pastoral elements, the relation of the play to the *Burlador* seems established with reasonable certainty. While there is here no statue and no challenge to a feast, we find in both plays an aristocratic, brave, and perverse protagonist, attractive to women, but ready to commit murder and rape. As in the episode of Tisbea, it is just after being lost at sea and landing on

an unknown shore that he seeks aid from a stranger of humble station, gains the heart of a girl that is dear to the latter, and immediately deserts her for another. He assumes an insolent attitude towards the father of the girl he deserts, as did the *Burlador* towards Don Gonzalo, and in both cases he is the cause of the father's death. Finally he is killed by supernatural means, struck by lightning as in several plays descended from the *Burlador*¹.

The most probable explanation of this resemblance seems to be that, if the *Burlador* was not written later than about 1620, an Italian imitation of it influenced La Croix. As, however, the *Burlador* may have been written as late as *L'Inconstance punie* and as known Italian versions are still later, this explanation cannot be regarded as the only possible one. There is still room for a common source. Certainly it is not safe to assume much inventive power on the part of the author of *Climène* and whatever his position in the long list of writers who have portrayed Don Juan, he was not the man to create so distinguished a literary type.

While the chief character possesses a certain complexity, his actions are inadequately explained, partly because we never see him on the stage with either Clorise or Lozie. The three girls are not well differentiated. The father is avaricious and obsequious. The only character that is intended to be *sympathique* is Caliris, but he is too inactive to make much of an appeal to an audience. Moreover, the monologue is employed to too great an extent to allow the dramatic possibilities of the theme to be brought out.

Nevertheless, the play is distinctly original in its form, for while his contemporaries employed either the alexandrine couplet, or, to a less extent, the ten-syllable couplet, and reserved other meters for choruses, hymns, *stances*, etc., La Croix changes his meter with each scene and uses, in his last scene, no less than four². This innovation, like the character of Clarimant, was to find echoes later on, but it is doubtful whether the author of *Agésilas* had studied La Croix's meters to any greater extent than the many authors of Don Juan plays had studied his treatment of Clarimant.

Like *l'Inconstance punie* the next play, *AGIMÉE OU L'AMOUR EXTRA-VA-GANT*³, though called a tragi-comedy, has so many pastoral elements that it should be classified as a *tragi-comédie pastorale*. The dedication to M^{me} de Chalais, signed "S. B.", and the fact

(1) Cf. my article just cited, pp. 474, 475.

(2) For his complete meter and rime scheme cf. my article, p. 472, note. Only two scenes (II, 1 and IV, 1) use the same scheme.

(3) Paris, Jean Martin, 1629, 8°; *priv.*, Dec. 3, 1628.

that complimentary verses by Pierre Du Ryer and Auvray are published with it are the only clues given in the published text as to the identity of its author. The historians of the French stage made no effort to solve this problem until Paul Lacroix suggested that " S. B. " represented le Sieur Bridard, who published in 1631 " chez le même libraire, la tragi-comédie d'Uranie¹. " M. Marsan² accepted this attribution as possible, though he added a question mark and noted that " une des pièces liminaires est suivie de son nom ", i. e. by that of Bridard. Both of them should have noticed that this very introductory poem eliminates Bridard from consideration, for it is addressed " à l'auteur de l'Agimée " and begins

Cher amy dont la plume a tracé des merueilles.

Evidently Bridard would not have addressed himself in this fashion. Now noticing that verses by Simon Basin were published with Du Ryer's *Lisandre et Caliste* and that Du Ryer addressed a poem to the author of *Agimée*, whose initiale were " S. B. ", I raised the question³ whether the play was written by Simon Basin, who, according to the *Biographie générale*, was the author of a tragi-comedy. The only authority cited is Echard, *Scriptores ordinis Praedicatorum*, Paris, 1721. A recent examination of this work⁴ shows that my suspicions were well founded and that he did write, not only *Agimée*, but a tragi-comedy called *Azarie ou l'homme un entre mille*, which was never published, but was preserved in a manuscript written in the author's hand " apud suos Parisienses in Bibl. inter cod. MS. " This last play I have been unable to find.

The author, born in 1608 at Paris " honesto nobilique loco, " was educated at the collège de Navarre, entered the monastery of Saint Honoratus at an early age, but was removed for lack of parental consent. He was then educated for the priesthood by his namesake, Simon Basin, a doctor of medicine, who also introduced him at court, where he was favored by the king and queen. As a dramatist he was acquainted with Du Ryer and some of his friends. Later he took orders, became *eleemosynarius*, or distributor of alms, to their majesties, and, after again entering the monastery mentioned above, a preaching brother. He died in 1671.

(1) *Soleinne*, no. 1033.

(2) *Op. cit.*, p. 513.

(3) Cf. my *Pierre Du Ryer Dramatist*, Washington, Carnegie Institution, 1912, pp. 11, 12.

(4) II, 642. The full titles of both plays are given. Of the first it is said : *Quod carmen suppresso nomine adhuc in seculo versatus Dominæ de Chalais nuncupatum typis commiserat*, Parisiis, Joan. Martin, 1629, in-8, pp. 135.

It might have been better for his reputation if he had taken orders at an earlier date, for his published play, composed of various conventional elements, does him little honor¹. The first three acts and the second scene of the fourth are chiefly pastoral both in setting and events. There is a direct borrowing from the *Pastor fido*, as M. Mar-san has pointed out², in the game of blindman's buff of the third act. The last two acts are closer to the tragi-comedy than to the pastoral. The author makes little effort to give unity to his play or to explain the actions of his characters. The trial might have occasioned a realistic scene such as that noted in Troterel's *Aristène*, but there is nothing noteworthy about it except that it contains a satirical comment on the administration of justice inasmuch as the judge is allowed to condemn persons who are almost immediately proved innocent of the charges brought against them. The "chœur des Luteciens" and the "chœur des bergers" are not real choruses, but groups of persons who take a minor part in the action³.

A much better example of the pastoral genre than the plays I have just discussed is *PHILINE OU L'AMOUR CONTRAIRE* by La Morelle, published at Paris by Martin Collet in 1630, 8°, with a dedication to the Princess of Guémené and a complimentary sonnet by Malherbe. Supported by such persons as these, the play apparently met with considerable success and was often acted. The publisher gives information to this effect and also an interesting explanation as to why the printing of an *argument* injured the sale of a book. He declares that the play "a tant de fois paru sur le theatre de l'Hostel

(1) The four chief characters are aristocrats disguised as shepherds and shepherdesses. Two of these, Philagen and Alphise, are believed to be a wealthy shepherd and shepherdess and are in love with the Princess Agimée and the Prince Dyseraste, who prefer each other and elope, despite parental opposition, borrowing the rustic garments of Alphise and Philagen. While they are enjoying their pastoral life, their humble friends, found with the clothes of the aristocratic couple, are accused of murdering them, and, after being lodged in jail, are sentenced to die. Cléonor, the supposed uncle of Alphise, though in reality a gardener in her family, has already run across Agimée and Dyseraste in their disguise, and arrives in time to save those who are accused of murdering them. Agimée's mother now locks her up in a tower, whence her lover promises to remove her. He will shoot an arrow with a cord attached and thus enable her to draw up a ladder. Meanwhile Alphise, disappointed in love, consults an echo and is advised to kill herself. Dyseraste wounds his rival in a duel that is forced upon him and then, in seeking to get the cord to Agimée, wounds her slightly in the cheek. He is accused of murdering them both as well as Alphise, but is accorded an opportunity to prove his innocence by a judicial combat. Although all of his supposed victims are restored to health by the beginning of the last act, the contest takes place and is won by a knight whose shield carries the representation of a phoenix rising from its ashes. This knight is no other than Agimée, who asks, as a reward of victory, Dyseraste for a husband. This is accorded and the marriage of Alphise and Philagen is also arranged.

(2) *Op. cit.*, p. 341.

(3) For the possible influence of this play on *l'Impuissance* cf. below, my study of that play.

de Bourgogne " and " dans les meilleures maisons de la France " that he has printed it " apres l'assurance que luy ont donnee beaucoup de ses amis (et notamment Monsieur de Malherbe) qu'elle seroit bien receuë, " and that he prints no *argument* on account of " le peu de curiosité que beaucoup de personnes ont d'en achepter apres que tout vn matin ou vne apresdisnee ils en ont leu l'argument sur la boutique d'un Libraire qui leur apprend pour rien ce qu'ils ne scauroient que pour de l'argent. "

The fact that Malherbe knew the play shows that it must have been written before his death in October, 1628. It is strange that he should approve of it so cordially, for neither in vocabulary nor versification is it written according to his views ¹. If he admired the plot, he must have been a most devoted lover of the pastoral system, which is here carried to absurdity. There are six lovers composing a chain in which each one loves someone who does not return the feeling and is loved by someone who is equally unsuccessful. The situation is made still more involved by the fact that one of the shepherdesses has a father who refuses to let his daughter marry and that one of the shepherds goes mad, disguises himself as a girl, and flirts with a satyr. When the shepherds realize the *impasse* into which they have come and are about to fight, Cupid intervenes and makes the shepherdesses accept the lovers they had scorned. After this the recalcitrant father is easily brought to give his consent by the assurance of the wealth of his prospective son-in-law. He ends the play with an amusing speech to the audience :

ô la mauuaise garde
Que d'une ieune fille ^a vn chacun la regarde,
Chacun luy fait la ronde, et luy fait les doux yeux,
C'est vn faict bien penible, et bien plus soucieux
Que garder vne femme, elle estant moins rusée...
Veillez y prudemment, et par moy plus soigneux,
Sages deffiez-vous de tous ces amoureux,
Sur tout de ces muguets dont les feintes risées
Furent si sagement par elles deguisées :
Tandis, si vous voulez venir avecque nous,
Vous boirez au tonneau chacun cinq ou six coups.

It is such comic verses as these and certain descriptive and lyric passages that doubtless saved the play from the failure to which the

(1) Hiatus is quite frequent. Note, for instance, *il y a* (I, 4), *si en* and *qui entende* (II, 1), *tu es* (IV, 1). I find also such metrical irregularities as *s'ennuie d'être* and *agree non* (I, 2). *Fleau* (IV, 2) and *meurtriére* (V, 1) are given the modern quantity, which Malherbe had not adopted.

(2) There should be a colon here.

weakness of the plot might have condemned it. In II, 2 the father is told by his daughter's admirer that he loves a certain girl, but cannot get her from her father, a " sot bien coiffé ". Presently the old man discovers that he is the person so described. The situation is not unlike that of Horace and Arnolphe in *l'Ecole des Femmes*. The satyr also furnishes comic scenes, but the principal passage intended to produce merriment is the nonsensical speech of the mad shepherd (III, 2) :

Ha que de Leoparts, et que de bataillons
 Nous aurons bonne annee, or sus, sus, trauaillons,
 Car quand il fait grand froid les pierres sont bien dures.
 Que l'on souffre de mal quand on est aux tortures.
 Le grand Turc n'oseroit, car nostre sauetier
 Quitteroit son riuet pour vn demy-septier.
 Les tailleurs auront fin si les prunes sont cheres,
 Qui ne fait la maistresse, il fait les chambrieres...

A song is sung (II, 1) by one of the lovers. Two others (V, 1) sing alternately " aux deux bouts du theatre " the parts of a duet with the refrain

Quand reuiendra le iour
 Que ie quitterai l'amour ?

Another scene (II, 3) consists of 9 speeches of 4 lines each in the rime order *abab* in which four shepherds offer their love in turn to their mistresses and are in turn rejected. In a similar scene (V, 1) each of the six lovers speaks 4 verses and, a little later, couplets, then half-lines. Perhaps these mechanical puerilities warmed Malherbe's old heart. They must certainly have interested him more than the futile psychology of the play and its lack of intrigue offended him ¹.

I have already referred to a prose translation of Bonarelli's *Filli di Sciro*, published in 1624. The first translation of the pastoral into French verse was made by Simon Ducros, the dedication of whose *FILLIS DE SCIRE* to the Duke of Montmorency was dated at Pézénas, Oct. 15, 1629, though the play was not published till the following year ². Among the introductory poems are *stances* addressed by the

(1) M. Marsan quotes a few lines from the play, *op. cit.*, pp. 338, 353, and believes the author's use of the alexandrine instead of the 10-syllable line he had employed in his *Endymion* due to the influence of Mairet's *Sylvie*; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 320, 337.

(2) Paris, Courbé, 1630, 8°. *Priv.*, Dec. 31, 1629. Somnaville was probably associated with Courbé in the publication, as some of the copies bear his name. Cf. Brunet and the *Bib. du th. fr.* The translation was reprinted with considerable alterations in 1647, 4°. According to Courbé, Ducros could be prevailed upon neither to

author to Montmorency, singing his victories at La Rochelle and in the south, a poem from Maynard to his "cher amy du Cros", a Latin epigram and a French poem by Mairet, who may have known him through his patron, Montmorency. Mairet's poem, which is of some interest, runs as follows :

Du Cros, que tes Vers sont polis,
Que iustement la France en est rauie,
Et qu'amoureux de ta Fillis,
Je le suis peu de ma ieune Siluie.
Petits esprits, grands rimailleurs, .
Qui sur les ourages meilleurs
Soufflez vostre melancolie,
Venez en ce volume adorer à genoux,
Ce que la France et l'Italie
Pourront iamais escrire et de iuste et de doux.

Such compliments mean little, but the interest that Mairet is taking in the translation of an Italian work is in harmony with the theories he was soon to express in regard to the unities and the fact that he mentions his *Sylvie* rather than his *Silvanire* tends to confirm other evidence that the latter play was not completed before 1630.

Despite Mairet's praise, Ducros's translation is the work of a versifier rather than of a playwright and is consequently inferior to Pichou's *Filis*, which was published a year later. Ducros fails to reduce the lengthy original proportions. He follows Bonarelli about as closely as a verse translation can, keeping a number of details that Pichou altered or omitted. For instance, when Celia is tied to a tree by the centaur, she thinks he desires to eat her and can see no other reason for removing her clothing. Ducros retains this bit of naïveté, which Pichou omits. The *capro* becomes a *chevreau* in Ducros as in the prose translation of 1624, but an *agneau* in Pichou. The jest, however, about his playing with Capricorn when he goes to heaven, though kept in the version of 1624, is omitted by both Ducros and Pichou. More important than these details is the fact that Ducros did not, like Pichou, realize the importance of altering the dénouement, which he keeps intact. The events are described, whereas Pichou has them all acted out in a dramatic scene. Finally, Ducros nowhere departs from the alexandrine couplet except in the prologue, while Pichou translates III, 6 into *stances*.

read his proof, nor to write an "advertissement". The admiration that Ducros expresses for Montmorency, then governor of Languedoc, expressed itself later by his writing a *Histoire de la vie de Henry, dernier duc de Mont-Morency*, Paris, Somma-ville, 1643, which was republished in 1665 and 1666.

The *Astrée* had been for some time the most popular book in France and it appealed strongly to the new generation of dramatists, but it had been difficult to make plays out of its main plot until the last volume had appeared. Only a few episodes, chiefly those of Madonte, of Chryseïde, and of Sylvanire had been completed before the appearance of the last book at the end of 1627, but now at last the whole collection of themes lay ready for theatrical adaptation. It is not surprising, then, that we have found up to this time only a few plays based on the novel, while in the years that are to follow it furnishes a larger number of them than any other work. The most tempting task was to dramatize the two main themes, the story of *Astrée* and *Céladon* and that of *Diane* and *Silvandre*. This was undertaken by a young southerner, de Rayssiguier, recently arrived in Paris from a part of the country not distant from the district of Forez where d'Urfé had lived and which he had chosen as the principal scene of his novel¹. As it would have been difficult to separate these two themes and as Rayssiguier's talent was not yet mature enough to substitute psychology for incident, he gives us, at the risk of destroying his unity of action, a *TRAGI-COMÉDIE PASTORALE OÙ LES AMOURS D'ASTRÉE ET DE CÉLADON, SONT MESLÉES A CELLES DE DIANE, DE SILVANDRE ET DE PARIS, AVEC LES INCONSTANCES D'HILAS*². He avoids other episodes and selects parts of the novel connected with these characters, which he finds chiefly in Part II, Bks. III, V, VIII-X, Part III, Bks. I, II, V, Part V, Bks. VI, VII, IX, XI, and XII. In the opening scene *Céladon* recalls the incident of his leaping into the Lignon from the beginning of the first book, but we soon pass on to the incident of his entrusting to the sleeping *Silvandre* a letter addressed

A la plus aimable beauté
Que l'univers cognoisse encore³,

(1) For Rayssiguier cf. my article on him in *R. H. L.*, XXIX (1922), 257-267. He was a native of Languedoc and a protégé of Henri de Gondy, cardinal de Retz, after whose death in 1623 he came to Paris, where he got into difficulties with a "mégère" and was imprisoned, according to the pathetic lines he wrote describing his captivity. That he was charged with theft is suggested by the lines from Gaillard's *Cartel*. He was a friend of Du Ryer and Auvray and composed, besides the play under discussion and some occasional verse, an adaptation of Tasso's *Aminta* (Paris, Courbé, 1632), two other plays based on the *Astrée*, namely, *Palinice, Circeine et Florice* (Paris, Sommaville, 1633 and 1634) and *la Célidée sous le nom de Calirie ou la générosité d'Amour* (Paris, Quinet, 1635 and 1636), and two comedies dealing with life in and near Paris, *La Bourgeoise ou la promenade de S. Cloud* (Paris, Pierre Billaine, 1633) and *les Thuilleries* (Paris, Sommaville, 1636).

(2) Paris, Nicolas Bessin, 1630, 8°; *priv.*, Jan. 30. A second edition is that of Paris, Pierre David, 1632, 8°. The first edition is accompanied by two poems of Du Ryer and a Latin quatrain by I. B. [Isaac Benserade?]

(3) Cf. *Astrée*, Part II, p. 140 (ed. Paris, Sommaville, 1647):

"A la plus belle et plus aimée Bergère de l'Vniuers."

who must be Diane, thinks Silvandre, but when she and Astrée see it, they recognize the writing of Céladon and go off with Silvandre to see the spot where the letter was given him. Paris and Hilas are now introduced and all the characters enter the temple of the Goddess Astrée, except Hilas, who concludes that it is better for him to stay outside when he learns that only those who have "une flamme sainte et fidelle" are acceptable to the divinity. In this scene the author follows the account given in the third and fifth books of the second part, but puts into the mouth of Paris the description of the temple that d'Urfé had not entrusted to any of his characters. When the shepherds and shepherdesses are asleep, Céladon visits them and kisses Astrée, much as in the eighth book except that his two visits are reduced to one. The second act gives the incident of the "vain tombeau," as related in the eighth book, with the elaborate ceremonial intended to put the soul of Céladon at rest. In the third act we witness the meeting of Astrée and Céladon, who is disguised as Alexis, daughter of the druid, Adamas, and their devotion to each other ¹.

In these acts Rayssiguier has given us the necessary information for the chief action, which he has prepared by adding a few scenes showing Silvandre's love for Diane and his fear that she will prefer the high-born Paris, also Bellinde's longing for her son, lost in childhood, and her desire to marry her daughter, Diane, to Paris. Silvandre has been further characterized and the audience amused by a discussion between him and Hilas, in which the two sides are presented as follows (III, 2) :

Silvandre : Vn véritable amour ne s'attache qu'à l'ame,
Dont l'essence est divine, et qui sans changement,
N'a jamais de l'amour que pour vn seul amant,
C'est dedans cét amour qu'un vray plaisir s'espreuve
Et jamais vn amant autre part ne le treuve.

Hilas : Je voy qu'il est aisé de faire vos accords,
Tu iou[is]ras de l'ame, et moy iauray le corps ².

Rayssiguier is now ready for his two most dramatic and spectacular scenes, which he derives from Baro's continuation of the *Astrée*. As the oracle has declared that Silvandre must die and Diane marry Paris, the lovers say farewell, each resolved to commit suicide, but when Silvandre appears on top of a cliff and is about to leap off, he

(1) Cf. *Astrée*, Part III, Bks. II, V.

(2) Cf. *Astrée*, Part II, Bk. IX, pp. 659-678. No exact parallel occurs, but the thought is much the same.

is stopt by Céladon, who persuades him to go with him instead to the Fountain of Love, where Céladon proposes to sacrifice himself to the lions and unicorns that guard it in order to remove the spell that now prevents lovers from learning their fortunes there ¹.

The occasion of Céladon's despair has already been shown in a scene in which Astrée discovers that he is Alexis and sends him off with (IV, 2)

Meurs comme tu voudras, pourveu que cessant d'être
On ne te voye plus à ma honte parêtre.

We note with pleasure that Rayssiguier has this scene acted out instead of having Astrée relate it, as does Baro ². But Astrée is soon so remorseful that she decides to go with Diane to the Fountain of Love and sacrifice herself there. Both couples reach the fountain as in the *Astrée*, and are followed by Bellinde, Paris, and others. After meeting the lions and unicorns, they fall unconscious in the midst of a divinely sent atmospheric disturbance. Amour then appears and gives the following order :

Sortes de vostre estonnement
Et faites emporter ces quatre corps ensemble
Qu'Astrée à Céladon vn doux hymen assemble,
Que l'on donne à Paris Diane absolument.
Et ie commande encore
Qu'Adamas aussi tost que paroistra l'Aurore
M'immole des demain
Siluandre de sa propre main ³.

All prepare to carry out this command next day, but Adamas, "prenant le cousteau et descourant le bras de Siluandre," sees the birthmark on his arm in the shape of a sprig of mistletoe and recognizes him as his lost son and the true Paris. It is now easily determined that Paris is Ergaste, the son whom Bellinde has been mourning for many years. As he is Diane's brother, he readily yields

(1) *Astrée*, Part V, Bks. VI and VII.

(2) Cf. *Astrée*, Part V, Bk. VI, p. 459 (ed. of Paris, Pomeray, 1630) : "Meurs, luy ay-ie dit, comme tu voudras, pourveu que tu ne sois plus."

(3) IV, 4. Cf. *Astrée*, Part V, Bk. IX, p. 704 :

Sortez de cet estonnement....
Mais faites ces corps emporter....

The rest of the command is received at another time. Cf. *ibid.*, Bk. XI, p. 855, when Love's oracle is read :

..... Et ie commande encore
Que ce Berger meure demain
Immolé de ta main.

her to the former Silvandre, while a third marriage is arranged between Ergaste and Léonide ¹.

It can be seen from this analysis that the plot and occasionally the words of the original are closely followed, but that Rayssiguier shows considerable skill in preparing and presenting his incidents, so that there is no confusion. M. Marsan ² notes that the scenes "où quelque profondeur serait nécessaire sont médiocres," and that it is "un simple travail d'adaptation", but "exécuté honnêtement, et par un bon ouvrier." After all, one should not expect much profundity from so romantic a theme, built upon the typical devices of disguise, long lost sons, a *deus ex machina*, a magic spring, a double recognition, and a triple marriage. One of the themes ends with the fourth act and the interest remains divided. The comic scenes in which Hilar figures have no effect on the plot. No attempt is made to preserve the unity of time or place. The lyrics scattered through the *Astrée* may have suggested the inclusion of a few passages in other forms than the alexandrine couplet ³ in addition to those poems to which there are corresponding verses in the novel ⁴.

The play is one that lends itself to a spectacular performance. It remained on the stage of the Hôtel de Bourgogne long enough to be included in the *Mémoire de Mahelot* ⁵, where not only the list of properties is given, but a drawing shows how the play was put on. At the front of the stage on either side is a temple, one to the Goddess Astrée, the other to Cupid. The rest of the stage is arranged to show a forest scene with cliffs, caves, and trees. In the center is the Fountain of Love. The cliffs are placed next the temples. The caves are used for the entry of the lions and unicorns, as they were for the lion in *Pyrame*, though this usage is not required by the text of the play. The effect of this varied scene was heightened by the fact that "l'Amour paraist en l'air ; il faut des esclairs, des tonnerres. L'Amour revient au cinquiesme acte." These aerial flights combined with the sacrifice of a sheep, fireworks, lions and unicorns to make this one of the most popular plays of the period we are treating.

There is no evidence that similar success was won by CLÉONICE OU L'AMOUR TÉMÉRAIRE, a *tragi-comédie pastorale*, dedicated to the king by its author, "P. B.", and published at Paris by Nicolas

(1) Cf. *Ibid.*, Bk. XII, especially pp. 955-966.

(2) *Op. cit.*, pp. 383, 384.

(3) Silvandre's monologue and Céladon's letter (I, 1) ; Paris's lines to the soul of Céladon and the latter's epitaph (II, 2), Adamas's prayer (IV, 4).

(4) Hilar's song and the verses read at the temple (I, 3) ; Amour's command (IV, 4 and V, 4).

(5) Cf. my edition, p. 76.

Rousset and Jean Martin in 1630 ¹, for only one edition of it is known and it is not mentioned in Mahelot's *Mémoire*. For some time it was supposed that this play was the same as a pastoral by Passar called *Cléonice* which does figure in that document. The suggestion was made by Mouhy ² and by Paul Lacroix ³, who found a copy with " par M. Passar " written in it. But, as I have pointed out ⁴, the unknown writer of these words may have been inspired by Mouhy, the most unreliable of literary historians, and as there is no similarity between the play by " P. B. " and the requirements listed by Mahelot for Passar's pastoral, there can be no doubt about the fact that Mouhy and Lacroix were mistaken, as well as those who have followed them ⁵.

There is unity neither of time nor of place. Indeed the two main couples go from Sicily to Cyprus during a single scene, notwithstanding the fact that they encounter a terrible storm. The various stages of the journey are shown in the dialogue (IV, 4), which exhibits a decided feeling for nature :

(1) 8° ; *priv.*, Feb. 1. One of the complimentary poems published with it is signed P. d'Estoille.

(2) *Théâtre français*, I, 96.

(3) *Soleinne*, no. 1051.

(4) *Mémoire de Mahelot*, p. 104.

(5) The noble Polémon and the shepherd Polidor are rivals for the hand of Climène, who prefers the first and accepts from him a bracelet, which she loses and Polidor picks up. In order to recover it, Polémon puts on shepherd's clothes and fights Polidor for it, but the latter kills him and, on the advice of a magician, who conceals the corpse, he puts on the fine clothes the dead man wore under his others, and, with the help of a "boëtte fatale", washes his face and acquires the appearance of Polémon. Climène, thus deceived, is so delighted to receive him and recover her bracelet, that she elopes with him to Cyprus, accompanied by Timale, a friend of hers with whom her brother, Tyrcis, is in love. When they reach Cyprus, they meet Tyrcis, who is shocked to hear of his sister's elopement till he finds that Timale is with her. Before long a courier tells them that their father is dead and that the king has agreed to pardon Tyrcis for the murders he has committed, in order that they may all return to Sicily and inherit the lands his father has left to them. On their return, Polidor's father, taking him for Polémon, accuses him of killing his son, but Polidor convinces him of his identity by making him look at him while holding the box. Climène, however, now takes the box and learns the truth. She is indignant at finding herself engaged to a peasant and her brother wishes to kill him, but he flees to a temple where the ghost of Polémon appears and tells them that he is really the shepherd and Polidor the gentleman, for his mother, who was the latter's nurse, had exchanged them in infancy. As this statement is supported by a kindly oracle, Climène is quite willing to forgive Polidor and marry him.

Besides this main theme, there are two subordinate plots, one concerning Tyrcis and Timale, who are united in marriage after he has slain a man who attempted to ravish her and one of the archers sent to arrest him and has eloped with her, as we have seen ; the other concerning a shepherd and shepherdess, who are separated first by the fact that the latter is in love with Polidor and then by the madness occasioned by her drinking from a spring on which a spell had been cast by a magician in order to punish Polidor for taking Climène's bracelet, but when the lover removes the spell by emptying the spring, notwithstanding the supernatural power that guards it, she gladly consents to marry him.

Polidor : ... mais d'où vient que ces monts
 Me semblent esclairez dans l'heure la plus brune
 Qui puisse estre la nuit ? Seroit-ce bien la Lune ?
 Ouy, c'est elle ie voy son beau front argentin...

Soon the pilot puts them on board and we hear him say :

Car desia hors du port s'esloigne nostre barque,

but presently " le temps est changé... Je sens dessus mes mains
 desia des gouttes d'eau ", and then

Je n'y voy plus d'espoir la barque est toute preste
 De se couler à fonds.

But it begins to clear and they land on the coast of Cyprus. This scene was probably acted by having a compartment on one side of the stage represent Sicily ; one on the other, Cyprus ; and by having the boat cross the space between, much as did the ship in Durval's *Travaux d'Ulysse* ¹.

The originality of this scene is not characteristic of the play as a whole, for most of the incidents are extremely conventional. M. Marsan ² has shown that the principal episode of the play, in which one character is made by magic to look like another, had already been used in three earlier French pastorals, the *Diane* of Montreux, the *Sidère* of Bouchet d'Ambillou, and the *Amantes* of Chrestien des Croix. He might have gone farther and mentioned other borrowings from the common pastoral storehouse, such as the rescue of a girl from an attempted ravisher in the woods, the chain of lovers, the use of madness. The motif of a lost token, found by a rival, who refuses to give it up and thus becomes involved in a duel, has already been met in the *Rhodienne* of Mainfray, who got it from Jacques Yver. We have also seen, in Mairet's *Sylvie*, a shepherdess reject a shepherd for a man of better birth and the removal of a spell in a contest with evil powers. Certainly the author had read *Pyrame* before writing (V, 3) :

Ce glaive dans son sang rougira de sa honte.

As these various borrowings are poorly fused together and the solution is brought about by two examples of the *deus ex machina*, there is no unity of any sort. Like other playwrights of the period,

(1) Cf. my edition of the *Mémoire de Mahelot*, p. 83.

(2) *Op. cit.*, p. 409.

the author depends rather on romantic and spectacular effects. There is even some echo of contemporary manners in the king's opposition to dueling, the efforts of the *prévost* and *archers* to arrest Tyrcis, and the indignant outburst of this young aristocrat (III, 1) :

Les loix peuuent agir sur le peuple vulgaire,
Et non pas dessus nous qu'un courage trop haut
Nous defend d'endurer ny tache, ny default.

For want of better classification, we may include among pastoral plays L'AMPHYTRITE by Monlêon¹, as its setting and certain characters belong to that genre, but it also resembles in many respects a primitive form of opera. It is dedicated to Cinq-Mars, who is described in an accompanying ode as a friend of both the king and Richelieu. An *advertissement* shows that Monlêon had an exalted idea of the value of his "nouvelle inuention." Those who fail to appreciate it are said to be "foibles de raison et d'intelligence." He has no use for the tricks of the charlatan. "Je pardonne à la pauvreté de Padelle, lors qu'il fait rire mille crocheteurs à la place Dauphine, pour mieux vendre son baume, mais je ne l'exempte pas d'infamie." His own work, on the other hand, treats a "matiere serieuse et toute diuine... Si ie n'ay pas parlé diuinement, au moins i'estime que ç'à esté clairement, et avec des termes françois." Then follows an intriguing sentence, which Paul Lacroix and Alleaume interpret² as a reference to Théophile de Viau : "Je ne desaduoué point ce que je doibs à T, il a corrigé vne partie de mes deffauts : Aussi me suis-je tousiours réputé glorieux d'escouter, d'admirer, et de croire celuy qui outre les publiques acclamations, a treuüé dans la bouche des Roys et des Reynes, des louanges." The attribution is possible, though Monlêon seems rather to refer to someone who had seen his play and whose career had not come, like Théophile's, to a somewhat ignominious end. It may be said, however, that Monlêon's vocabulary shows him to have been in agreement with Théophile's attack upon pedantry and with the *stances* by l'Estoille³ published with *Amphytrite*, in which are criticized the rimesters who "parlent latin en françois."

(1) Paris, la Vefue M. Guillemot et Matthieu Guillemot, 1630, 8° ; *priv.*, March 4, 1630. The author published in 1638 a tragedy called *Thyeste* (Paris, Guillemot), for which a *privilege* was obtained, Aug. 6, 1638. A misreading of the latter date has caused many persons to think the play was published or composed in 1633.

(2) *Soleinne*, no. 1050, and *Œuvres complètes de Théophile*, II, 11, 12.

(3) This must be the dramatist, Claude, for this poem is answered by Monlêon with *stances* in praise of his *Angélique*, a sonnet published in 1627, according to Lachèvre, *Bib. Rec.*, I, 224.

The plot of the play is insignificant ¹. The incidents are but the excuse for the introduction of the following spectacular scenes : Amphytrite's visit to the sun below the water (I, 1), and to a rendez-vous (II, 4) where

Sur les bords de la mer vne masse cornuë
S'esleue jusqu'au Ciel ;

Amphytrite's vision of Neptune (II, 2) :

Je voy qu'en ces beaux lieux où deux Tritons se suiuent,
Plus legers que le vent mille Dauphins arriuent,
Et qu'ou l'eau s'entr'ouurant fait de nouueaux sentiers,
Sortent de ces cachots deux Hypotames fiers,
Qui traînent le beau char sur qui le Dieu de l'onde
Se fait voir pour raur les yeux de tout le monde ;

the episode of a nymph who shows half her body projecting from the bark of a laurel-tree (III, 2) ; the assembly of the gods, apparently on Olympus (III, 5), and again at Neptune's marriage, when heaven opens and the couple go to receive the gods in a grotto where the wedding is to take place (V, 4) ; the metamorphosis of Léandre into a rock (IV, 2) and his restoration to life (V, 2) ; the falling of flames from heaven, followed by cries, darkness, and the return of a beautiful landscape (V, 4, 5).

There is, moreover, some metrical variety, furnished by a dialogue between the sun and Amphytrite (I, 4), somewhat in the manner of the dialogue in Mairet's *Sylvie*, five examples of *stances* (III, 2, IV, 2, V, 3), an echo, and a concert sung by sirens and tritons (V, 2), the point at which the operatic nature of the play is most evident. The extent to which these elements distract the author's attention not only from character, but from plot recalls two of Hardy's plays in which the characters are gods and foreshadows the work of Chapoton ² and the writers of early operas. The author was doubtless

(1) The sun repulses the advances of the Goddess Amphytrite, then, when she renounces him, pursues her. Neptune now falls in love with her, while she attempts to seduce a mortal, the shepherd Léandre, whom she at first entices away from his Sylvie, but, when Neptune shows his jealousy by stirring up a storm, the gods drive his rival mad and turn him into a lofty rock. Amphytrite now consents to marry Neptune and the latter, touched by her plea for Léandre, restores him to life and union with Sylvie. Everyone is happy except the sun, who attempts to burn up sea and land till Jupiter intervenes and peace is restored.

(2) *La descente d'Orphée aux enfers*, Paris, Quinet, 1640, or, as it was reprinted, *La Grande journée des machines ou le mariage d'Orphée et d'Euridice*, *ibid.*, 1648.

influenced by the court ballet, in which startling and expensive effects were often found ¹.

V. — Comedy

There are really only two plays to be discussed under this heading, but some explanation of why others are not included must first be made. *Le Théâtre renuersé ou la Comédie des Comédies abatuë*, " par Mr. De L. M., " Paris, Jean Le Bouc, 1629, is not a play, but a reply to the attack made on Guez de Balzac in the *Comédie des comédies*, which will be discussed in the next section. There seems to me to be no evidence that *les Ramoneurs* belongs to the period that I am treating. The first person to mention it is Maupoint ², who, in 1733, declared that a comedy of that name by Lambert had been played at the Hôtel de Bourgogne in 1662, which was the year that the *Ramoneurs* of Villiers was performed. Two years later Beauchamps ³ refers to these two comedies and also mentions the manuscript of a play of that name, " fort libre ", without date, but among plays of the last part of the century. Then the frères Parfaict (IV, 335), who undoubtedly saw the manuscript, declare that they find written upon it the statement that the comedy " paroît avoir été jouée vers 1629, attendu qu'il y est parlé de Coëffier ⁴, Traiteur, qui étoit de ce tems, et qu'on y parle aussi des Justes d'or, qui est le nom des pièces sous Louis XIII. " This would prove, however, only that the play was written no earlier than the fame of the restaurant keeper. The frères Parfaict prefer a still earlier date than 1629, because there is a reference to the restoration of the Palais de Justice, burned in 1618 and, according to them, restored by 1620 ⁵. But no such method

(1) There is little else to note in the play except the recurrence of a familiar theme in the line (III, 3) :

Il fait en mesme jour naistre et mourir la rose,

and a touch of folk-lore in Sylvie's expression of joy over the day that has brought her lover back to life (V, 2) :

Je te doy bien marquer d'un crayon tout doré.

(2) P. 268.

(3) II, 319, 325, 541.

(4) I find M^{me} Coiffier mentioned by Voiture in a rondeau (ed. Uccini, Paris, Charpentier, 1855, II, 317) :

Chez la Coiffier une demi-douzaine
Des nourrissons de l'enfant de Silène
Se trouveront ce soir assurément.

She is also referred to by Tallemant, *Historiettes* (ed. Monmerqué et Paris, Teche-ner, 1854, II, 129, 130). She was well known before 1632, as the maréchal d'Effiat, who died in that year, was said by his enemies to be her relative.

(5) 1622 would be more accurate.

will fix any date. All we can say is that it was written between 1622 and 1733. In the *Bib. du th. fr.*, III, 56, mention is made of Villiers's play and of a comedy with the same name by Lambert, acted in 1658 and never printed. Lacroix ¹ described the manuscript as written in an "écriture du XVIII^e siècle" and, while it may have been a copy of an earlier manuscript, it seems to me quite possible that the play was first written early in the eighteenth century or late in the seventeenth. Certainly there is nothing in the analysis by the frères Parfaict that would prove an earlier date, for the play by de Villiers of the same name, but of only one act, that was published in 1662 may quite as well have been the source of the manuscript comedy as an imitation of it ².

We are left, then, with only two plays to discuss, but each possesses unusual interest. They are Baro's *Célinde* and Rotrou's *Bague de l'oubly*. The author of the first of these, Balthazar Baro, was born at Valence about 1590. His family belonged to the "noblesse de robe". His father, Hercule, was professor of law at the university, then situated in that town and subsequently removed to Grenoble. Balthazar was a law student in 1610 and a "docteur ez droictz agrégé en l'Université de Valence" before April, 1615 ³. He became the secretary of Honoré d'Urfé and, after his death, saw the fourth part of the *Astrée* through the press and composed the fifth in accordance with notes that d'Urfé had left and conversations he had had with him on the subject. Baro's originality cannot have been large, for he had but to weave together the scattered threads of the many unfinished episodes that are found in the earlier volumes of the novel. He preserves d'Urfé's spirit and even his style to a remarkable, perhaps an unfortunate degree. He was made a member of the recently formed French Academy in 1634 ⁴ and took part in the

(1) *Soleinne*, no. 1016.

(2) Gendarme de Bévotte, in *le Festin de pierre avant Molière*, Paris, Cornély, 1907 (*Soc. des textes fr. modernes*), p. 144, assumes that this play was the source of de Villiers's *Ramoneurs*, but he gives no evidence that he has seen the play or knows more of it than he could derive from the frères Parfaict, whose statement is also accepted by Toldo, but he had no knowledge of the play except what he derived from them. Cf. *R. H. L.*, VII (1900), 273, 274.

(3) For these facts and others concerning his life, cf. Étienne Mellicr, *Bulletin de la Société départementale d'archéologie et de statistique de la Drôme*, XXXI (1897), 1-23, 113-157, and XXXVII (1903), 76.

(4) Pellisson, in his *Histoire de l'Académie française*, Paris, Courbé, 1653, p. 353, states that on Jan. 2, 1635, there were 36 members of the Academy. He does not give Baro, du Chastelet, and Racan in his list, but refers to them as members and they must have been members by this time in order to make up that number. Paul Mesnard, in his *Histoire de l'Académie française*, Paris, Charpentier, 1857, p. 326, comes to the same conclusion, though he does not give his reasons for doing so. Additional evidence that proves conclusively that Baro was a member of the Academy

criticism of the *Cid*. Between 1635 and Dec., 1639, he became "procureur du roi au présidial de Valence", but continued to live at or near Paris. When he died, about the end of 1650, he left a widow and eight children. Besides a ballet, an ode to Richelieu, and other occasional verse, he wrote 10 or 11 plays¹. His portrait constitutes the frontispiece of the fifth part of the *Astrée*.

CÉLINDE was probably first played in 1628, since the *privilege* and *achevé d'imprimer* are dated in May² of the following year. It was dedicated at Paris on April 30, 1629, to César, duc de Vendôme. In his *advertissement* Baro answers criticism by explaining that he had chosen for the "play within the play" the subject of Judith because, as he had only 300 lines to devote to it, he had to take something well known, because Amintor would not have allowed his daughter to play in any but a religious piece, and because the subject of a tragedy should never be invented. He declares that he is not allowed to reveal "le suiet qui m'a fait mettre cette piece en lumiere³," and avoids classifying it in any of the familiar genres, for he calls it a *poème héroïque*. Though the opening scene, the wounding

in 1635 is furnished by Magne (*Le Plaisant abbé de Boisrobert*, Paris, Mercure de France, 1909, p. 229), who shows that he spoke at a meeting of that body on Sept. 3 of that year.

(1) *Célinde*, poème héroïque, Paris, François Pomeray, 1629, 8°; *la Clorise*, pastoral, *ibid.*, 1632, 8° and 1634, 8°; *la Force du destin*, a lost play mentioned in Mahelot's *Mémoire* (cf. my edition, pp. 83, 84); *Cleorisde*, a comedy played before the queen on Jan. 27, 1636, according to Renaudot's *Gazette* and probably lost, though sometimes identified with *Clorise*; *Saint Eustache*, poème dramatique, played about 1639, published in 1649 at Paris by Sommaville, 4°; by de Luyne, 1666, 12°; *la Parthénie*, Paris, Sommaville, 1642, 4°; *la Clarimonde*, *ibid.*, 1643, 4°; *le Prince fugitif*, poème dramatique, *ibid.*, 1649, 4°; *Cariste ou les charmes de la beauté*, poème dramatique, *ibid.*, 1651, 4°; *Rosemonde*, tragédie, *ibid.*, 1651, 4°; *l'Amante vindicative*, poème dramatique, *ibid.*, 1652, 4°. The last three were posthumous publications.

(2) Strangely enough the *privilege* was not obtained till the 16th, though the printing was completed on the 5th.

(3) The plot is simple enough. There are two pairs of lovers, Célinde and Lucidor, Parténice and Floridan, but the parents of Célinde and Floridan arrange to marry these two to each other before the end of the day. In order to celebrate this occasion, Célinde's father, Amintor, gives at his home a performance of *Judith*, in which Célinde represents the heroine; Floridan, Holophernes; the other lovers, minor characters. When the moment comes for the tyrant to be beheaded, Célinde actually stabs the man whom she is to be forced to marry, the performance breaks up, and Célinde and Lucidor are arrested. A trial follows in which the judge condemns them to ask pardon before the tomb of Floridan and of Parténice, who is reported to have committed suicide from grief, after which final sentence will be passed upon them, but when they carry out this order, the tomb opens, Floridan, who had only been slightly wounded, and Parténice appear and ask pardon for the other lovers. Floridan's mother, Dorice, had already known that her son was living, and had planned his appearing at this moment with the girl she is now willing for him to marry. Amintor is brought in and after the judge has reproved him for seeking to marry his daughter against her will and he is put into a properly repentant state of mind, the lovers are shown to him and he agrees to marry his daughter to Lucidor.

of Floridan, and the scenes immediately following that event savor of tragi-comedy, while the inner play resembles tragedy, the prevailing note is that of a comedy of manners, depending largely on incidents from ordinary life, a serenade, a formal conversation between parents to arrange the marriage of their children, private theatricals, and a trial. A good deal of attention is given to the setting. The play begins "fort peu deuant le iour". Floridan, sent by his mother, goes under Célinde's window with a "concert de musique" and sings a song to her. Parténice, who, disguised as a man, has followed him, now fires a pistol at him, but misses and both draw. She is quickly disarmed and recognized. He explains that his mother has obliged him to seem unfaithful to her. After this touch of tragi-comedy, we are brought back to the comedy of every-day life by the note: "on entend desia force bruit par les ruës, les paysans vont au travail, tous les marchands ouurent leurs boutiques." This realism contrasts with the streets of most plays, reserved for the exclusive use of the actors. The introduction of the shops prepares the way for Corneille's use of them in his *Galerie du Palais*.

The next situation is one that was eventually to be made famous by Labiche and Brieux. Dorice makes a morning call on Amintor to ask for his daughter's hand for her son. He receives her cordially (I, 2): "Page, des sieges; Madame, mettez-vous à vostre aise: desormais nostre âge nous prescrit cette nécessité: et ie pense que pour nous montrer que nous deurions quelquefois nous lasser de viure, nos iambes sont les premieres qui se lassent de nous soustenir." She then, after describing at length the virtues of Amintor and his daughter, asks for her as a daughter-in-law and wonders whether she loves anyone already. Amintor assures her she is incapable of "ce crime", but if she does, he will force her to obey him; if we left to girls the choice of a husband, "le premier frizé, le premier poudré, qui donneroit dans la veuë d'une fille, en feroit presque aussi-tost sa femme que sa Maistresse", for she would believe his valets a sign of his importance even if he kept them only "pour auoir plus d'assistance et de force à se garantir de la poursuite des sergents." Dorice however, insists upon the importance of love — in preparation for the dénouement — believing that, if parents do not love each other, their children are *bossus, contrefaits, monstres*. She will not marry her daughter to a man she does not love. He replies that there is no need for discussion, for, if Célinde does not yet love him, "c'est à faire à vne premiere nuit", an old argument we have already seen in Mairet's *Sylvie* and elsewhere. Dorice, who really belongs in a modern problem play, is not easily convinced and comments:

“ Nuict funeste quelquefois, et qui ne donne son obscurité que pour vn presage d’horreur et d’infortune. ” To convince her, Amintor tells the story of a girl who, carried off to a château and raped, demanded the death of her ravisher, who was arrested and condemned to death, but the birth of a child made her forgive him and win his pardon from the viceroy.

In the second act there is a lover’s quarrel, which ends, much as does a similar scene in *Tartuffe*, with the lovers’ planning to delay the marriage arranged by the girl’s father until they can bring about their own, and a comic scene in which Floridan and Célinde, knowing they are being watched by Amintor, pretend to love each other deeply. Amintor now talks of the amusements of his youth and, mentioning comedy, asks if they had not prepared one recently. When they say they still remember their lines, he proposes to give the performance in the afternoon and turns over to Célinde the keys to his *garderobe*, where the necessary costumes are kept.

The next act is devoted to the inner play. Aminta “ ameine la compagnie dans la salle où le Theatre est dressé ” and his friends comment on the value of the drama as a school of virtue. The play is in three brief acts. Akior, whose part is taken by Lucidor, is seen bound to a tree, calling down the wrath of God on Holophernes. He is rescued and taken to Bethulia, which the tyrant now besieges. In the second act Judith makes her plans and visits Holophernes. He falls in love with her and gives her a rendez-vous for the night. Between the acts Amintor and Dorice praise the actors. Then Holophernes prepares for Judith’s visit on the principle that

Venus est plus aymable après vn peu de vin,

but carries it too far, for he falls asleep when in bed. Judith is brought in by a eunuch, draws close to Holophernes, and, dropping from verse into prose, cries “ Apprends, Floridan, ce que peuuent sur moy l’Amour et la tyrannie ”, stabs him, and jumps down from the stage, holding the bloody dagger and declaring that Lucidor is her “ mary depuis long temps. ”

The fourth act restores the tone of comedy, for we soon see Floridan and learn that he is not really dead. His mother agrees to his marriage, but plans with the surgeon the trick that is to end the play. Then follows a love-scene between Lucidor and Célinde in adjoining cells. They converse and can even see each other with the help of a mirror. The study of manners continues with the trial, in which the judge points out that this is not a case of murder in the heat of

passion, but the result of premeditation. A contest in generosity follows, in which Lucidor argues that he should die rather than Célinde, who murdered Floridan for love of him, while she insists that she is alone guilty. Finally the judge sums up as follows (V, 1): "Par le pouuoir absolu que nostre charge nous donne, et pour laisser à nos Neveux vn exemple qui leur puisse inspirer l'horreur qu'ils doiuent auoir pour les crimes, Nous ordonnons..." Baro tells us that his play was criticized on the ground that the judge's condemning the couple to visit the tomb was too opportune, inasmuch as he knew nothing of the mother's plans, but he replies that Dorice knew that the law of the land required murderers to satisfy the shades of the departed. At any rate it leads to a spectacular ending, in which there is still a touch of realism in the description of Floridan's wound that had penetrated "vn des vaisseaux de la veine que nous nommons Axillaire."

The abbé Reure¹ suggests that the play may have been composed by Baro to form part of the *Astrée*, but he gives no evidence to support this hypothesis and, indeed, it seems unlikely that Baro wished to add episodes to the novel. It does seem probable, however, that Baro, who, between the middle of 1625 and the middle of 1627, had superintended the printing of the fourth part of the *Astrée* and composed the fifth part, was much influenced by that novel in writing a play that probably appeared the following year. An examination of the two works confirms this belief. The principal episode, that of the play given at a private home in which one of the characters turns the feigned situation into a real one, is found in the *Astrée*, Part IV, Bk. VI, pp. 562-563 (edition of 1647), where Delphire, acting in such a play and having to tell a shepherd not to hope for her love, turned to a lover whom she wished to reject and who, though not taking part in the play, was standing near the stage, and addressed to him the lines intended for an actor:

Amour ne peut sur vne vraye amour
Anter vne autre amour.....
Ton amour m'importune
Et ie la hay, berger.....

A parallel to the ineffective attack of a girl, disguised as a man, upon her lover is found in the *Astrée*, Part IV, Bk. XI, p. 1215. A contest in generosity between Astrée and her lover, each of whom seeks to be condemned to death in the other's place occurs in the

(1) *La Vie et les œuvres d'Honoré d'Urfé*, Paris, Plon, 1910, p. 299.

same book, pp. 1327-1332. A marriage is arranged between parents despite a girl's objection in Part V, Bk. VI, pp. 478, 479 (ed. of 1630), and lovers are locked up in a dungeon in the same part, Bk. III, p. 246. It will be noticed that all of these incidents occur in the last two parts of the novel, the parts that Baro knew best. Trials are also quite common in the *Astrée*. The choice of a period when people still propitiated the shades of the dead was probably also determined by the *Astrée* and the following passage is an obvious expression of the lover's philosophy as there set forth: "Ce que tu vois dans ce miroir c'est toy mesme; car si l'Amant se change en la personne aimée, et si l'ame vit mieux où elle aime qu'où elle anime, il faut de nécessité que ce que tu vois dans cette glace soit Lucidor, et ce que i'y vois soit Célinde ¹". Even the form may be due to the *Astrée*, for in the play prose is used except in the 300 alexandrine lines consecrated to *Judith* and in the serenade (I, 1); and it must be remembered that the prose of the novel is interspersed with verse. This does not mean that no influence was exerted by other forms of literature. The material of the inner play comes, of course, from the Apocrypha ². The idea of a play within a play had already been carried out, not only in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* and in *Hamlet*, which Baro did not know, but in Italy by J. B. Andreini in *Le due Commedie in Commedia*, published at Venice in 1623 ³. While Baro probably had not read this play, he may have been acquainted with similar productions of the *commedia dell' arte*. To the experiences of Baro's own life may be due the location of the scene in his native town of Valence and the judicial practices of the trial, with which he, as a lawyer, was well acquainted. He even hints in his introduction at something more than this, perhaps some local *fait divers*, which he may have employed. It is not certain that he observes the unity of time, for we do not know just when the events of the last two acts take place. The places represented are the houses of the two families, a prison, and a tomb, presumably not far from one another. The action is much like that of Rayssiguier's *Astrée et Céladon*, as the interest is divided between two pairs of lovers and the affairs of one are settled in the fourth act, of the other in the fifth, though, of course, there is greater unity in this play, since, throughout much of it, the interests of the two couples are the same. The style is often prolix, like that of the *Astrée*. The characters are not unusual except for

(1) IV, 4. The passage suggests Curel's *Danse devant le Miroir*. Cf. Silvandre's debates in the *Astrée*.

(2) It owes nothing to Pierre Heyns's, *Miroir des veuves*, played at Antwerp in 1582.

(3) Cf. Klein, *Geschichte des italienischen Drama's*, Leipzig, 1867, V, 740 ff.

the violence of Célinde and the liberality of Dorice, who is by no means the conventional mother. On the other hand the study of manners, the situations, and the handling of the plot deserve commendation.

The play is important for several reasons. It is the first example in French of the "play within a play" and as such was to influence a series of comedies, including the work of Scudéry, Molière, and Poisson¹. It is the first play in prose to be written by a dramatist who certainly belonged to the new generation. The little inner play is the first work by a contemporary of Corneille that is derived from the Bible, a fact that Du Ryer overlooked when he wrote the preface to his *Saül*. Finally there is much in *Célinde* that belongs to the comedy of manners and at the same time there is a complete absence of stock comic characters, in which respect Baro is an immediate predecessor of Corneille, despite the latter's boast, which has met with such very general acceptance, that he was the first person to write plays of this sort.

Rotrou's *BAGUE DE L'OUBLY* was not published until 1635², but it must have been written six years before, for he declares that "c'est la seconde pièce qui est sortie de mes mains, et les vers dont ie l'ay traictée, n'ont pas cette pureté que depuis six ans la lecture, la conversation et l'exercice m'ont acquise." It was probably written, then, after the completion of *l'Hypocondriaque* and was first played early in 1629³. Rotrou's reason for printing it is that "tous les Comédiens de la Campagne en ont des copies, et que beaucoup se sont vantés qu'ils en obligeront un Imprimeur⁴." He does not wish it pirated, as his *Cléagénor* had been. He further declares that it is "une pure traduction de l'auteur Espagnol de Vega." In his dedication to the king he asserts that "la Comedie est en un point, où les plus honnestes recreations ne luy peuvent plus causer d'ennuie, où

(1) A recent German dissertation on this subject omits all mention of *Célinde*. Cf. A. Mersmann, *Das Schauspiel im Schauspiel im franz. Drama des XVII. Jh.*, Münster, 1925.

(2) Paris, Targa, 8°; *priv.*, July 3, 1634; *achevé*, Jan. 18, 1635. It was reprinted at Lyons by Cl. La Rivière in 1654; in the *Œuvres de Jean Rotrou*, Paris, Desoer, in 1820. For a detailed analysis of the play and its Spanish source, cf. G. Steffens, *Rotrou-Studien*, I, *Jean de Rotrou als Nachahmer Lope de Vega's*, Oppeln, Franck, 1891, pp. 33-49. He publishes the *Avis au lecteur*, omitted in the edition of 1820. His article must be supplemented by that of Stiefel in *Z. F. S. L.*, XXIX (1906), 197-201.

(3) Stiefel, *Z. F. S. L.*, XVI (1894), 8-11, dates it 1628 by counting back six years from the date of the *privilege*, but he should rather have counted back from the *achevé d'imprimer*.

(4) This explains why, contrary to general usage, it is found, before it is printed, in the repertoires both of the Hôtel de Bourgogne, as given by Mahelot, and in that of Montdory's troupe, according to Scudéry's *Comédie des comédiens*.

elle se peut vanter d'estre la passion de toute la France et le divertissement de vostre Majesté", and assures us that he has worked hard to make it "si modeste" and has so polished "ses mœurs, que, si elle n'est belle, au moins elle est sage, et que d'une profane i'en ay fait une religieuse." Fournier takes this to mean that Rotrou had given the play "cette honnêteté qu'elle n'avait pas dans l'espagnol", but Steffens shows that he is entirely mistaken, for the Spanish play makes no departure from "honnêteté," while the French comedy adds a scene which leaves something to be desired in this respect. Rotrou seems to be referring to the style or to be contrasting it with some plays that had preceded and which were less moral. Fournier's contention, however, that it is the first French play "presque entièrement honnête" shows his usual carelessness, for in this respect the *Bergeries*, *Pyrame*, and *Chryséide*, to go no farther, were above reproach.

Lope's *Sortija del Olvido* had been published in a collection of his plays that appeared at Madrid in 1619. Rotrou's adaptation of it makes an important date in the history of the French stage, for it was the first time that a French dramatist based a play on a Spanish play. As we have seen, he modestly calls his work a translation, but this is going too far, as Steffens and Stiefel have shown in great detail. He does indeed use in the main the same persons and the same incidents, but he makes a number of changes, especially in the character of the king's love, the dénouement, and the form¹. The dénouement is so altered as to leave the audience under an impression

(1) Alfonse, King of Sicily, is in love with Liliane, daughter of Duke Alexandre, who, fearing that the king will make her his mistress, takes her from court and plans to marry her to Tancrède, Count of Tarentum. In order to prevent this marriage, Alfonse has the duke and the count arrested and imprisoned on a charge of treason, while Liliane is placed with his sister in the royal palace. Now this sister, Léonor, is in love with a courtier, Léandre, who is not of royal blood. They plot to win the throne, but are unwilling to put the king to death. Léandre gets from a magician a ring, which deprives the wearer of his reason while it is on his finger. This ring he substitutes for the king's when the monarch is washing his hands and the effect is instantaneous. The king forgets his love for Liliane and orders her father and lover set free. He also forgets that he has promised 2000 ducats to the court jester, Fabrice, for bringing him the good news of the duke's arrest and sadly disappoints the man when he returns with the blank money-order for the king to sign. But, in order to free the prisoners, the king gives his ring to Liliane as a token of authority, an act that restores his reason, so that, surprised that Fabrice has not received his money, he sends him for another blank and orders the duke and count back to prison when they appear before him. Liliane, whom he now loves, repulses him, for she has put on the ring. When he takes it from her and puts it on his own finger, he feels ill and again tears up Fabrice's money-order. His illness is so serious that he allows the conspirators, Léandre and Léonor, to take charge of the kingdom. They appoint new commanders to the army and navy and order the execution of the duke. Fabrice, however, smarting under the loss of the money the king had promised him, seeks compensation by taking advantage of his master's condition and warning him

of general happiness. Whereas in Lope the king intends to marry the girl from the start, in Rotrou he gradually comes to a decision to do so, as Steffens points out, in order to prepare the audience for the change. The effect is to motivate more satisfactorily the duke's action in removing his daughter from court, though the events of the play hardly explain the change in the king. Rotrou wisely omits a superfluous attendant and makes of the *criada* a *suivante*, which would probably constitute the first use of the latter term on the French stage, if we were sure that it was found in the original manuscript. As it is, it seems more likely that it was introduced when the play was published and is consequently of small importance, since the term had been used in other plays before 1635. Rotrou also makes a number of changes in the interest of brevity, omitting mythological references and condensing in a number of places ¹.

The desire to make the play more worthy of its classification as a comedy is shown not only in the new dénouement, but in the character of Fabrice, now a jester instead of a musician, to whom is assigned a new comic passage based on a misunderstanding (IV, 6). Finally Rotrou changes the form of the play by dividing it into five acts instead of three ² and by using alexandrines, a meter that often obliges him to dilute Lope's thought. That he was not yet interested in the lyric monologue is shown by his omission of the duke's sonnet in Lope's first act. On the other hand, there is no equivalent in Lope for the fanciful form he gives to the dialogue between the king and Léandre when the rings are exchanged (II, 7) :

*Le Roy lavant, dit, ayant mis l'anneau sur le bassin.
Amants qu'on ne verse plus d'eau,*

against the danger of wearing gold. Alfonso thereupon gives him the ring, recovers his senses, drives out the new general and admiral, who have come to swear allegiance, and hastens off to save the duke and prevent the marriage of Liliane to Tancred. He arrives in time to accomplish this. Léandre, who has already married Léonor, seeing that the king has recovered his senses, indiscreetly asks Fabrice whether the ring has been lost, which makes the latter suspect the trick and confess to the king, who, after testing the ring and removing the paper under the stone that contained the spell, puts it on, for it is now harmless, and sends for the culprits, pretends to be mad and to abdicate in their favor, then, after they are seated on the throne, he asks them to judge a certain case and describes the crime of which they are guilty. In the Spanish play they are punished by the man's banishment and the shutting up of the princess in a convent, but Rotrou makes Léandre reply, boldly describing another case in which a king has arrested a duke and a count in order to gratify his own desires, and plead that love was the cause of both crimes. The king at first refuses to accept the parallel, but Duke Alexandre speaks in their favor and they are sent off together to Saragossa. As in the Spanish play, the king offers marriage to Liliane and is accepted. He compensates Tancred with a cousin and promises a reward to Fabrice.

(1) For details, cf. Steffens, *loc. cit.*

(2) Each of Lope's acts, except the first, is made into two.

Qu'on ne se plaigne ni souspire ;
 Par la prison d'un œil si beau,
 L'Amour a perdu son empire.

Leandre, prenant l'anneau, dit tout bas.

Leandre, ne verse plus d'eau,
 Ne craint désormais, ny souspire ;
 Car, pouuant changer cet anneau,
 Le Roy va perdre son Empire.

Le Roy.

Ie tiens cet obiect precieux,
 Ie ne respandray plus de larmes,
 Et malgré tous mes enuieux,
 Ie seray maître de ses charmes.

Leandre, luy ayant rendu l'anneau enchanté.

Il tient cet anneau precieux,
 Ie ne respandray plus de larmes :
 Et malgré tous mes enuieux
 Ie seray maistre par ses charmes.

The passage shows that Rotrou was able to handle his subject with independence and even to add to the element of fancy that he found in the original. There are, however, few departures of this sort in his play. He follows the original so closely that most of the credit for the *Bague de l'Oubly* lies with Lope rather than with Rotrou, but the play remains of great importance, since it is the first to show the influence of a Spanish *comedia*. It is well to note that what it introduced into France was not character study, psychological problems, or realism, but rather a subject that has charm and fancy and more especially the art of developing a comic situation. Magic and temporary madness had been common enough on the French stage, but such a situation as that of the ring, put on and taken off by the king and by his mistress, then falling into the jester's hands and again restored to the king, had not been seen before. And this art of developing an unreal, but entertaining situation will be, perhaps, despite the debt owed to Spain for the *Cid* and the *Menteur*, the principal kind of influence exerted by the *comedia* on French plays.

We have seen that Rotrou has improved upon the original by certain rather slight changes made in the interests of harmonizing the tone of the play and making it more satisfactory as a comedy. He does not attempt to give it formal unity, to link the scenes, or even to preserve the *bienséances* absolutely, but the work shows considerable progress in the dramatic art over his first play. He has learned to express a girl's passion, as in the lines (I, 1) :

Les fleurs n'ont point l'odeur si douce, ny si forte,
Que quand ta belle main sur mon sein les apporte,

or an old man's righteous indignation in (I, 4) :

N'espargnez point le fard, frisez ces beaux cheveux,
Allez à ses genoux solliciter ses vœux :
Il le faut appeller vos yeux, vostre lumiere,
Et s'il vous tend les bras, les ouvrir la premiere.
Peignez sur mon visage un éternel affront,
Ce moyen vous mettra le diademe au front.

According to the *Mémoire de Mahelot*, the *mise en scène* of the *Bague de l'oubly* showed a palace on the back of the stage, a room to the right containing a picture, a table, a basin, pitcher, and napkin ; on the left a garden, between which and the palace a scaffold is revealed at the beginning of the last act.

The play figures not only in this document, but in the repertory announced by the actors in Scudéry's *Comédie des comédiens*. The theme of the magic ring was, perhaps, passed on to Rotrou's *Innocente Infidélité* and to Regnault's *Blanche de Bourbon* (pub. 1642). Steffens believes that it served as the source of Legrand's *Roi de Cocagne*, played at Chantilly in 1718. While it lacked the realistic scenes of *Célinde*, it must have helped bring comedy into favor, for, though it resembles tragi-comedy in certain respects, it yet has enough that is comic to justify the title. Both plays showed that there was material for comedy outside of the crudities of the farce and they thus prepared the way for the development that was to be made in the next few years by Claveret, Mareschal, Corneille, and Desmaretz.

VI. — Personal and Political Plays

These belong to the history of satire rather than of the stage and were probably never acted. Their chief importance for us is to show that the form of plays is now intruding itself on another genre. We have seen political plays before, but not a literary satire of the kind that the first of these represents. It is entitled *LA COMÉDIE DES COMÉDIES*¹, "traduite de l'italien en langage de l'orateur françois", and is said to be by le Sieur du Peschier. Other editions

(1) Paris, La Coste, 1629, 8°.

are of Paris, 1629, "jouxte la coppie imprimée par N. La Coste". 8°; Paris, 1630, "aux dépens de l'auteur", 8°; Lyons, C. Larjot, 1630, 12°. The play was reprinted by Fournier in his *Théâtre français au seizième et au dix-septième siècle* (pp. 236-256), with a fore-word in which he explains that it is one of a series of pamphlets exchanged between Guez de Balzac and the Feuillants, who had taken offence at a passage in one of his letters. The head of the order wrote *Lettres à Ariste*, in answer to which an *Apologie pour M. de Balzac* appeared over the name of Ogier. Sorel also attacked Balzac by ridiculing him in *Francion* as the pedantic Hortensius. Then Du Peschier, or someone writing under that name¹, produced this *Comédie des Comédies*, which is not translated from the Italian, but is composed of many quotations from Balzac, exaggerated and held up to ridicule. A reply appeared the same year called "Le Theatre renuersé ou la Comédie des comédies abatue, par Mr. De L. M., Paris, Iean le Bouc", which furnishes an interesting commentary on the *Comédie des comédies*, but is not in dramatic form.

The model for the *Comédie des comédies* is the Italian farce, at least as far as the leading characters are concerned, for Balzac is represented by le Docteur and the father of the heroine is Pantalon. The plot, too, is of the simplest. Le Docteur, after boasting of his oratorical ability, which surpasses that of all previous writers, seeks to win the hand of Clorinde, who is said to personify eloquence, from her father, Pantalon, by a discourse on the Golden Age, but he is defeated by his rival, le Paladin, whose speech on Pantalon's old age appeals to the latter's vanity. To avenge himself, the Docteur sends his friend Hydaspes and other persons, who beat Paladin to their own satisfaction, but without winning Clorinde away from him. The Docteur is obliged to satisfy himself by listening to his "fou", whose remarks serve as an epilogue to the satire.

The piece is full of lengthy speeches, which would not have interested a popular audience. A few obscene passages might not have interfered with its success, but it would have been difficult to recite on the stage a passage in which the Church is represented as winking at illicit unions², and it is hard to believe that any but the most cultured theater-goers would have appreciated the many thrusts at Balzac. He is represented as the conceited and pedantic type of

(1) Fournier, following the *Bib. du th. fr.*, believes the author's name to have been Barri. I am no more prepared to accept this conclusion than I am that of the catalogue of the *Bib. Nat.*, which makes the author the same as the P. du Peschier or N. du Peschier, who published a series of works between 1609 and 1615.

(2) III, 2, p. 249 in Fournier.

scholar, already well known through the Italian farce, but the originality of the *Comédie* consists in the frequent quotation of his letters, whose swelling phrases and metaphorical expressions are cleverly caricatured. One example of the method will suffice. Balzac had written, as his defender in *Le Théâtre renversé* points out, that at Rome one walks "sur des pierres, qui ont esté les Dieux de Cesar et de Pompée ¹." This becomes in the mouth of the Docteur a reference to cities "qui ont des rues pavées de dieux et de deesses de l'antiquité.... j'ai marché sur les Césars et sur les Pompées." Such phrases as these are found throughout the document. They are of great interest to the student of Balzac or of satirical writing in France, but their dramatic value is, like that of the piece, extremely slight.

The other play to be treated here is *LA ROCHELOISE* ², a brief and intensely partisan pamphlet with dramatic form, but without scenic qualities, by "P. M.", whom Paul Lacroix takes to be Pierre Matthieu, though he has no other proof than the initials, which would apply as well to Pierre Mainfray. The subject is the capture of La Rochelle and the defeat of the French Protestants and their English allies. The first scene is a sort of prologue by the guardian angel of France, who compares La Rochelle to Troy, Babel, Sodom, etc. The king, his brother, Richelieu, and Schomberg then talk of how the uprising in Picardy has been put down. The second act is devoted to an argument between the inhabitants of La Rochelle and the English as to whether the city should be surrendered. In the third act the town asks for terms and in the fourth the English depart, the townsmen admit that they were wrong to revolt, and M^{me} de Rohan, who had not been mentioned before, is held prisoner. The writer has so little imagination that he makes the king's enemies condemn their own course as freely as he does. The only noteworthy passage is the tribute that the English pay to Jeanne d'Arc (II, 1) :

Suscitans aux François vne chaste Pucelle
 Qui d'un cœur Martial de sa clai^{re} allumelle
 Au rencontre aux assauts dans l'horreur des combats
 Mettoit les plus hardis de nos Scadrons à bas,
 De sorte que son bras aux coups infatigable
 Comme vne autre Amazone aux armes sans semblable,

(1) The phrase occurs in a letter of June 3, 1623 ; cf. ed. of Paris, Billaine, 1665, I, 50.

(2) Troyes, Jean Iacquard, 1629, 12°. 22 pp. Bib. Nat., yf 11465. According to *Soleinne*, no. 1038, the original edition was printed at Rouen, but it could not have appeared many days before 1629.

Fit leuer nostre Camp de deuant Orleans,
Lors que presque il estoit surpris dans nos liens,
Mena Charles septiesme à Reims prendre son Sacre,
Et fit de nos soldats vn si sanglant massacre
Que nos preux Paladins de Mars mesme cheris
Furent vn peu apres chassez hors de Paris,
Du fertile Bourdelois, du Poictou de Neustrie,
Il est vray que surprise en certaine sortie
Elle fut dans Roüen bruslée en vn buscher
Cuidant nostre malheur par sa mort empescher,
Mais son cœur aussi pur qu'auoit esté son ame
Ne peut iamais brusler au milieu de la flame ¹.

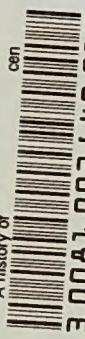
(1) Possibly the same play is referred to in the notice published by L. Paris of *Les Triomphes de Louis le Juste et la réduction des Rochelois*, avec ballet, 1629. According to him, it was given by the pupils of the Jesuits at Rheims. Cf. his *Théâtre à Reims*, Rheims, Michaud, 1885, p. 245.

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